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## THE FIFTH EDITION OF BURTON'S *ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY*

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THE following paper was written towards the end of 1917 and read before the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in the following January. Some time afterwards I heard that a member of this society, Mr. F. S. Ferguson, had also made a special study of this edition of Burton's *Anatomy*, and he, with much kindness, wrote me several letters on the subject, and gave me some new and valuable information, some of which I have incorporated in the present paper with due acknowledgement.

THE first edition of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* was printed in quarto at Oxford in 1621. The second, third, and fourth editions, in folio, were issued in 1624, 1628, and 1632, so that four years divided each of these last issues. In 1638 appeared the fifth edition, in 1651 the sixth, in 1660 the seventh, and in 1676 the eighth. No edition whatever was issued in the eighteenth century.

It is necessary before I come to my special points, that I should give, as shortly as possible, an account of the early editions.

The first edition, a thick quarto volume, appeared in 1621.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 19 March 1923.

The title-page has the imprint : ' At Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short for Henry Cripps. Anno Dom. 1621.'

So many additions were made to the text by the author that the next edition would have made too thick a quarto, so the second and succeeding editions were printed in folio. The second edition has upon the title-page the same imprint as the first : ' At Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short for Henry Cripps. A° Dom. 1624.'

In the third edition the well-known engraved title-page first appears, which has the imprint engraved at the bottom : ' Oxford, printed for Henry Cripps. 1628.' A fuller imprint is placed on the last leaf of the book : ' Oxford, printed by ' John Lichfield, printer to the famous University, for Henry ' Cripps. Ann. Dom. 1628.'

The fourth edition has the same engraved title-page with some small alterations and the word ' third ' before edition is altered to ' fourth ', and the date 1628 altered to 1632. The imprint at the end is the same as in the preceding edition : ' Oxford, printed by John Lichfield, printer to the famous University, for Henry Cripps. Ann. Dom. 1632.'

The fifth edition has again the engraved title-page with fourth altered to fifth and the date 1632 altered to 1638. This edition has no imprint at the end.

The sixth edition, the first published after the author's death, has the engraved title-page with the necessary alterations, and the imprint, ' Oxford, printed for Henry Cripps. 1651.' The colophon runs : ' Printed by R. W. for Henry ' Cripps of Oxford, and are to be sold by Andrew Crook in ' Pauls Church-yard, and by Henry Cripps and Lodowick ' Lloyd in Popes-head Alley. 1651.' At the end was a note saying that Cripps had inserted the notes left to him by the author, but this was more an advertisement than anything else and the notes are few.

The seventh edition is much changed. The pictorial title has been re-engraved, and considerably improved in the process. 'Sixth' has been altered to 'seventh' before edition and the imprint now runs: 'London Printed for 'H. Cripps and are to be sold at his shop in Pope's-head 'Allie, and by E. Wallis at the Hors shoo in the Old Baley '1660.' The colophon on the last leaf is: 'London, Printed 'for Henry Cripps, and are to be sold by him in Popes-head 'Ally, And by Elisha Wallis, at the Golden Horse-shooe in 'the Old-Bayley. 1660.'<sup>1</sup>

The eighth and last seventeenth-century edition differs entirely from the others, in that it is larger in size and the text is printed in two columns, which gives it a totally different and rather mean appearance. It still has the engraved title-page, now badly worn, with the imprint: 'London Printed 'For Peter Parker at the signe of The Legg & Starr in Corn-'hill over against y<sup>e</sup> Royall Exchange 1676.' The one interesting point in connexion with this last folio edition is that we know the published price. It was advertised in the term catalogues at 16s. bound.

I have not troubled you with collations, but to show how the work gradually grew larger, I may point out that the second edition, 1624, the first printed in folio, has 326 leaves; the 1628 edition 380, the 1632 edition 410, the 1638 (the last issued in the author's lifetime) 420, and the two succeeding ones the same.

I have mentioned that the fifth edition, that of 1638, although it has the engraved Oxford title-page with the name of Henry Cripps the publisher, unlike all the other editions,

<sup>1</sup> There are some slight variations in copies of this edition, and a considerable number have a small printed slip pasted over the imprint on the title-page running: 'London, Printed for John Garway and are to be sold at the signe of St. Paul's Church in Paul's Chaine 1660.' The explanation of this slip which has been a puzzle to many bibliographers is simple. Henry Cripps died soon after the printing of the volume, and part of the stock was sold.

has no printer's name, and for this there is a good reason. The book was nobody's child. It was printed at various presses by various printers, and none could claim it as their own. This fifth edition forms the subject of my paper to-night, and the sub-title should be 'An unnoticed Scottish book', because none of the historians of our Scottish presses has noticed that a considerable part of the volume, nearly a half, was printed in Edinburgh. The book raises many interesting questions, as I hope to show later, but I think it must hold almost a unique position, as having been begun, continued, and finished, at three such distant places as Edinburgh, London, and Oxford.

To the ordinary observer there is little or nothing in this fifth edition to attract particular attention. None of the writers who contributed to the bibliography of the book which was published in *Notes and Queries* during some years, noticed any peculiarity, and, most probably had it not been for Burton himself, the strange history of the book would never have been brought into question.

The sting, as is fitting, is in the tail. Burton, in supplying a list of errata, could not resist having a hit at the printers whose dubious proceedings and quarrels had annoyed him, and so he appended a little note, written in his own whimsical style. This note must always make this edition of some importance, since it is a piece of Burton's composition not found elsewhere. It occupies nine lines of small type and is inserted on the last leaf just above the list of errata. The note is written in Latin, rather concentrated Latin, and though light and chaffing in manner is, I think, intended, as regards essentials, to convey an accurate piece of information.



## LECTORI

Audin' ò bone. Editio hæc Edenburgi non ita pridem inchoata, sed a Typographis nostris illicò suppressa, Londini mox illorum cum venia protelata, Oxoniæ demum perfecta, nunc quintâ vice qualis qualis in lucem prodit. Jam verò si primum non convenit imo, neutri medium, ob Frequentiores mendas & lacunas, quem culpas? Correctorem, Typographum, hunc, illum, an omnes? utrum vis per me licet, & hunc, & illum, & omnes. Ego interim auctor ab his ferè exauctoratus, hunc in modum exagitor, illorum proterviae do pœnas, ad eorum arbitrium nunc in profundum demergor, nunc denuo portis & postibus affixus in scenam erigor, & cuivis expositus prosto vœnalis. Sed præstat opinor Harpocratis meminisse; ne quid gravius dicam in dominatores hosce meos, utcunque stomachosus me reprimò, & quod æquius, eorum mendas & errata sic corrigo:

## TO THE READER

Listen, good friend! This edition was begun at Edinburgh a short while ago, but was at once suppressed by our printers. After a time, with the consent of the printers of Edinburgh, it was continued at London, and finally completed at Oxford; and now, such as it is, it makes its fifth appearance in public. If the beginning does not match the end, nor the middle part either of them by reason of the numerous blunders and omissions, whom will you blame? The corrector, the printer, this man or that, or every one who has had a hand in it? As far as I am concerned, you may blame any one of them you like,—or the whole lot.

Meanwhile I, the author, who have been almost cast on one side by them, am subjected to these worries, and pay the penalty for their waywardness. At their whim I am first drowned in the deep, and then caught up again and brought

upon the scene, fastened to doors and posts,<sup>1</sup> and exposed for any one to buy.

But methinks I had better remember Harpocrates, lest I say anything too harsh against these my masters. For all my anger I keep myself in check, and,—what is better—correct their faults and blunders thus :—

Burton's words are 'begun at Edinburgh, continued at London, and finished at Oxford'. Let us examine the book typographically in the light of Burton's information. As a simple means of identifying the presses as well as dividing the different parts I made a list of all the initial letters. One group is found from the beginning of the text to page 346, another group from 347 to 590, and a third from 590 to the end. The first portion is clearly the Edinburgh part, the middle portion Oxford, and the last part London. The middle or Oxford part was the last printed, as may be seen from the abrupt way it ends on Ffff 2.

The Edinburgh part of the book was begun to be printed, surreptitiously, not very long after the issue of the fourth edition of 1632. This is fairly evident from the words of Burton in a letter to his friend John Smyth of Nibley, dated 7 August 1635, 'About Michelmas terme our Edenborowe edition will come forth, you shall not faile of a copy.' These words are very important as showing that Burton was aware of the printing at Edinburgh and apparently acquiesced in it. Cripps, however, who owned half the copyright, would not allow it, and the work was suspended. For at least two years no agreement was arrived at, but in 1637 Young, the printer of the Edinburgh portion, gave up his business there, and sold

<sup>1</sup> Fastened to doors, &c. It was the custom of booksellers to fasten up title-pages—separately printed—of books they had for sale as advertisements. Probably a large portion of the title-pages in the Ames and Bagford collections were thus acquired.

most of his material. Then probably some agreement was arrived at, shown clearly in Burton's address to the reader : 'After a time, with the consent of the printers of Edinburgh, it was continued at London'.

The Oxford portions of the book were undoubtedly printed by Leonard Lichfield and William Turner, who were together responsible for 199 leaves.

When I read this paper at Edinburgh I had not identified the printer of the London portion, and I owe the information on this point to the kindness of Mr. Ferguson. The following is an extract from one of his letters :

What is certain is that when Young had printed just about half the book at Edinburgh he was found out. Finding he could print no more there, and being himself unable to continue it in London, it had to be turned over to others. But Lichfield and Turner being also still unable to start upon it, for a time Miles Flesher was entrusted with the continuation (he was associated with Young in 1635). But as a consequence of my collation line by line of the editions of 1632 and 1638 a most interesting thing is revealed : that the portions printed by Flesher are almost certainly cancels, not portions only, but the whole of them. Originally, I think, Young printed the whole of the book (with the exception of the 4 preliminary leaves due to Turner), in Edinburgh up to page 346. But Burton wishing to make considerable additions, had the whole of the quires subsequently reprinted by Flesher entirely cancelled with the exception of two sheets. The reason for my making this statement is that I find that, roughly, Burton's additions to the portions printed by Flesher (68 ll.) are twelve times more numerous than those in the whole of Young's printing.

Looking at the volume as a whole, one or two points strike me as curious, and on one especially I would value the opinion of an expert printer. To my eye the ordinary type appears identical throughout the book, and were it not for the initial letters I could not have separated the portions of the different printers. Of course as late as 1638 type was obtained from common sources, but still individual printers had small tricks of working which should be apparent to an expert.

It might have been supposed that the paper with its watermark would have afforded much help in identifying the

different divisions, but this is not the case. Nearly all printing paper was obtained from abroad, and thus the same paper is found in use in various towns. As a general rule the importance of water-marks as evidence is greatly over-estimated. In conjunction with other evidence it may give assistance, but, used by itself, is apt to breed as much error as it saves.

Another curious point is the similarity of the capitals belonging to the different printers. The capital E's and W's are either careful copies of each other, or derived from a common original. There was no copyright in type in England, as there was in Italy, and any well designed set of capitals which a printer used was immediately copied. In the Edinburgh portion we can see an attempt to follow as closely as possible the appearance of the Oxford edition from which it was copied, and of course the other portions would have to agree as far as possible with what was already printed. The book began with deception and finished with imitation. That the superficial appearance of the book is the same throughout is proved by the fact that none of the bibliographers who published special articles on the early editions of Burton during two years in *Notes and Queries* ever remarked the variations.

Let us now turn to another most interesting question connected with this book. The author in his valedictory note says, 'This edition was begun at Edinburgh a short time ago, but was at once suppressed by our printers'. Now by what earthly right could the Oxford printers suppress a book printed in Edinburgh?

At this time in England three separate bodies had control of printing. The Stationers' Company ruled the whole country with the exception of the two University cities, Oxford and Cambridge. Cambridge had obtained the right to elect three stationers, or printers, or sellers of books in 1534, but did not actually exercise it until 1583, when Thomas

Thomas was elected University Printer. He immediately set about the establishment of a press, but the Stationers' Company, fearing dangerous competition and an infringement of their privileges, boldly seized the press and type, and attempted to crush the attempt. The University at once appealed to their Chancellor, Lord Burghley, to procure the restoration of their press, and succeeded in vindicating their right under the old patent. The Stationers' Company had to submit, but they did so with a very bad grace, and a jealous struggle between the University and the London Company continued for many years.

Oxford, following the example of Cambridge, set up a press in 1585, but, unlike Cambridge, possessed no printing patent. It possessed, however, an extremely powerful Chancellor, the great Earl of Leicester, under whose patronage the press was established.

The following account is from Mr. Aldis's chapter in the *Cambridge History of Literature* :

The revival of printing at Oxford met with no such stormy reception though the University possessed no printing patent similar to that of Cambridge. Its immunity from interference may have owed something to the protection of the earl of Leicester, chancellor of the University, under whose auspices the press was established. Anyhow Joseph Barnes, the printer appointed by the University, at once carried the attack into the London camp, and in the very year (1585) in which he began work reprinted one of their 'most vendible copies'. John Wight, the bookseller to whom the book, Parsons's *Christian Exercise*, had been entered in the Stationers' Registers, on hearing of the piracy, sent his son to Oxford, who there bought the impression and paid Barnes ready money for it, Barnes making faithful promise that he would never reprint the book. But, notwithstanding this promise and Wight's 'curteous dealings' with him, Barnes, being thus furnished with money, forthwith prints two other impressions of the work; and, when the London printers in retaliation reprint Thomas Bilson's 'Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion', which Barnes had just published, they are stopped by the Privy Council, their printing tools seized and one of their number thrown into prison. The Oxford press was officially recognized in 1586, by a Star Chamber ordinance allowing one press and one assistant.

It appears from this that Oxford's right to a press was tacitly admitted and upheld; but it was not until November 1632 that it received its first charter. This charter allowed three printers, and an amplification of the following March allowed to each of the three two presses and two apprentices. Oxford copyright allowed protection to the books written by members of the University and approved by the Vice-chancellor and two Doctors. The history of University copyright has never been clearly narrated, though the subject is an interesting one. Even at the present day the University does not come under the ordinary English law on the subject, but has the privilege of perpetual copyright for such works as it owns.

But the laws of England had nothing to do with those of Scotland. Even a special royal privilege did not affect Scotland, as may be seen from the following appeal to the Scottish Privy Council made at the very time with which we are concerned, namely 1638.

This sets forth that Colonel Robert Munro had written a book giving his observations on the Art of War as he had seen it practised during his service in Germany and, as he says, 'had delivered the same to his sacred Majesty for his 'royal approbation and allowance, to be given to his weak 'and simple endeavours in the matter'. His Majesty having allowed and approved the work, granted its author the sole right of producing the book in England, and, by arrangement with some printers in England, 1,500 copies were to be printed.

Though the author was made secure as far as England was concerned, it might, however, happen that printers in Scotland might, in his words, 'frustrate' him of his profits in that country. To secure himself against this contingency, therefore, Munro appealed to the Scottish Privy Council, which promptly granted him the same privilege in Scotland

as he had secured in the case of England, and issued an order forbidding any one to print or sell the book without the author's licence under pain of confiscation.

Colonel Robert Munro of Foulis was an eminent Scotsman and would thus have no difficulty in getting his protection from the Privy Council, but the document puts clearly that the King's privilege to grant copyright applied only to England, and did not interfere with the right of Scottish printers to print the book for sale in Scotland.

Edinburgh and Scotland were under no English control and could print what they pleased. But we must remember the great difference in language, taste, and feeling between the two countries, so that what was popular in one would find no acceptance in the other. No work of Shakespeare, beyond the little *Venus and Adonis* of 1627, was printed in Scotland up to the end of the seventeenth century, and a glance through Mr. Aldis's list shows an almost entire absence of reprints of English books. When, therefore, we find an important popular English book being reprinted in Scotland we shall not be very far wrong in assuming that it was not intended mainly for home consumption, but rather as contraband to be smuggled surreptitiously over the border.

An interesting case in point is the edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* printed at Edinburgh by Waldegrave in 1599. William Ponsonby, an important English publisher who held the exclusive copyright, had issued a third edition in 1598. On 1 September 1599 Rowland White, confidential agent to Robert Sidney, the dead poet's brother, wrote to his patron from London as follows: 'The *Arcadia* is now printed in Scotland according to the best edition, which will make them good cheap, but is very hurtful to Ponsonbye who held them at a very high rate. He must sell as other men do or they will lie upon his hands.' The Edinburgh edition was sold at six shillings.



Ponsonby at once seized all the copies that remained unsold, and in November entered an action in the High Court of Star Chamber against a number of booksellers and stationers for having printed or caused to be printed divers books of the said *Arcadia* either at Cambridge, London, or some other place within the kingdom, and also for having put a false imprint on the title-page to the effect that the book was printed at Edinburgh, with the intention of evading the decrees of the Star Chamber concerning unlawful printing.

Waldegrave had no reason to love the English company of stationers, and though he might have hesitated to undertake the trouble and expense of printing an edition of the *Arcadia* on his own account, with very little hope of a large sale in Scotland, on the mere chance of selling enough copies in England, while he ran the risk of having all the copies seized, the matter bore a different complexion when he found a certain number of English booksellers willing to take a large number of copies off his hands.

The questions put in this case are very interesting, but not of special importance in our present inquiry. Unfortunately no record of the case itself remains.

One interesting point may be noticed. Ponsonby accused the stationers of printing his *Arcadia* either at Cambridge, London, or some other place in the kingdom and putting a false imprint of Edinburgh. This was argued out at length, but had any of the persons engaged in the case taken the trouble to look at the watermark of the paper used in portions of the book, they would have seen that it was the initials I. R. followed by a 6 and with a royal crown above, and this was the watermark of the paper made in Edinburgh by Peter Greet Heare under an exclusive privilege granted him by James VI in 1591 for nine years.

We may now turn for a moment to the career of the printer who was concerned with this edition of the *Anatomy*.

On New Year's Day [25 March] 1604 Robert Young, son of William Young of Hychindon in the county of Bucks, yeoman, put himself as an apprentice to Henry Ballard, citizen and stationer of London, for nine years. He took up his freedom on 23 November 1612. About the early part of his career we have little information, and his name does not appear as a printer until 1625. In 1626 he was appointed printer to the City of London, and from this time onwards we find his name in large numbers of books.

In April 1632 Young was appointed King's Printer for Scotland, and immediately took advantage of his position<sup>1</sup> to engage in illicit book-trade.

In 1633, 34, 35, 36 he printed, besides his official work, large numbers of Bibles, which he imported and sold, contrary to law, in England. This is proved by the following petition printed in the State Papers:

'Petition of Jane, wife of Sir Thomas Bludder (and widow of John Bill the King's Printer), to Archbishop Laud.' 'Petitioner with John Bill, an infant, have, by grant from His Majesty, the moiety of the office of King's Printer and amongst other things the printing of Bibles. Robert Young imprinted in Scotland, and about two years since imported thence into England so many bibles as that your Petitioner was damnified £1000, which bibles being seized by the Company of Stationers, as forfeited, were by the Archbishop's direction carried to the Hall to be kept. Upon several petitions since exhibited to the Archbishop, Young had taken out and vented most part of these books, but no recompense was given to petitioner. Prays the Archbishop, according to his answer to supplicant's petition of 2nd Dec. 1636, to hear the business himself, or give petitioner leave to take her remedy at law, for she is wearied with the long delay of the referees.' Unfortunately the results of the

<sup>1</sup> The King's printer had certain monopolies.

petition and of the lawsuit are not known, but the lady appears to have thought she had, and probably rightly, a very strong case.

At the time these Bibles were being printed at Edinburgh Young was still in London, but an order is extant, dated 15 September 1635, directing that Robert Young should proceed to Scotland. Whether he ever went there is doubtful, but early in 1636 the Earl of Stirling wrote to the Bishop of Ross at Edinburgh warning him concerning the printing of the Service Book, and remarking especially: 'Young, the printer, is the greatest knave that ever I dealt with, and therefore trust nothing to him or his servants but what of necessity you must.'

Young's Edinburgh press remained active until he had finished printing the Prayer Book of 1637, and there had been no interruption of his London business, but after this date he parted with his material in Edinburgh, and confined himself to London. Many of his productions about this date bearing his imprint as 'His Majesty's printer for Scotland' were printed in London, and though he received a new Scottish patent later, nearly all his work was confined to printing and publishing in London. From 1635 to 1637 the printing of the Prayer Book dragged on. It was a tedious job on account of the endless alterations and corrections that were continually being made, and it was during this period that Young found some mischief ready for his idle hands to do.

The *Anatomy of Melancholy* was a very successful book. According to Anthony à Wood, Cripps the publisher made a fortune by it, and he only owned half the copyright, the other half being retained by the author. If he could get an edition printed in Scotland, he had special facilities for getting it smuggled into England. It was a chance worth trying.

I must now turn to another puzzling point connected with this very puzzling book. We have supposed that the Edin-

burgh portion was surreptitiously printed, but that brings us up against the fact that it contains corrections and additions by the author. As I have not a copy of the 1632 edition of my own, I have not been able to compare it with this edition line by line to see how soon these corrections begin. The long address of Democritus to the Reader which occupies 78 pages is, I think, reprinted word for word from the earlier edition. At any rate, as early as page 42 we find a line and a half inserted containing a quotation from Trithemius,<sup>1</sup> and after this we find other changes and additions. But not only did Burton supply his corrections, but I think he must also have corrected his proofs. I base this assertion on the evidence of a cancelled leaf.

When the leaf LL was set up the compositor or whoever was responsible had not gauged accurately how much copy the sheets before would contain. He set up and printed the leaf, but it was afterwards found that the matter contained on it would go on the last leaf of the preceding quire. LL1 was, therefore, afterwards cancelled and is found in very few copies, and is not in those at the Bodleian, British Museum, and University Library, Cambridge.<sup>2</sup>

Now the page fortunately contains a new passage added since the previous edition of 1632. Since that edition had been published Burton had been presented to the living of Segrave in Leicestershire, and so, as in the chapter he is describing the pleasant situation of various villages and houses, he inserts his new living. The sentence on the cancelled leaf runs: 'So likewise Segrave in Leicestershire (which I am now bound to remember) is sited in a Champion at the edge of the Wolds, more barren perhaps than the villages about it,

<sup>1</sup> A friend tells me that the earliest addition he has noticed is some eight lines summarized from *Bodine lib. 4, Theatri Naturae*, on pp. 40, 41.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noticing that in some copies in their original binding this cancelled leaf has been used as lining, and may thus be recovered.

*'yet much to be preferred for a sweet aire.'* On the corrected leaf the passage is: 'So Segrave in Leicestershire (which Towne I am now bound to remember) is sited in a Champian, 'at the edge of the Wolds, and more barren than the villages 'about it, *yet no place likely yeelds a better aire.'* Here, besides other variations, the last part of the passage entirely differs, no words except the first and last the same. Again, the little marginal note to this passage runs in the cancelled leaf, 'To the rectory of which I was lately presented by my 'right hon. Patron, the L. Berckley.' On the corrected leaf it runs, 'For I am now incumbent of that Rectory, presented thereto by my right honourable Patron the Lord Berkly.' Besides the improvement in the language of the corrected leaf there are also some corrections in spelling.

Now these corrections must surely mean that the author corrected the proof, for no type-setter or proof-reader, though they occasionally take great liberties, would think of altering a passage so completely, without any authority. I acknowledge that my argument is based on slender grounds, yet I can perceive no other explanation, and I should welcome any other suggestion.

We are, therefore, I think, justified in concluding that the greater part of the Edinburgh portion was printed with the knowledge and sanction of the author. His corrections and additions could hardly have been obtained without his knowledge, nor would he have supplied them to persons who were infringing his copyright without his permission.

Now this suggestion would agree with Burton's own words: 'This edition was begun at Edinburgh a short while ago, but was at once suppressed by our printers.' This would mean that very soon after the book was begun the author and the publisher got wind of it and took means to stop it. As I have already shown, they had no power to stop the printing of an edition in Scotland, so long as the sale was

confined to Scotland and copies were not introduced into England.

Young may have hoped to get the edition finished and the copies dispersed before the fraud was detected, or he may have hoped that the continued friction between the University printers and the Stationers' Company might have influenced the latter in his favour, especially as he was an important member of the body, and made the Company unwilling to interfere or enforce the rights of another body with whom they were continually, and at that present time, quarrelling.

Cripps, the Oxford publisher, appears to have foreseen this, and to have concealed another weapon up his sleeve. In 1622, the year after the publication of the first edition, we find an entry in the Stationers' Register saying that he had parted with his interest in Burton's *Anatomy* and some other books to Michael Sparke, a London bookseller and member of the Company.<sup>1</sup> But as every edition of the *Anatomy* from the first of 1621 to the seventh of 1660 was printed for Henry Cripps, and in none of them is there any reference to Sparke,<sup>2</sup> and as he owned the half of the copyright until his death, we may presume that this transfer was merely nominal and had been arranged so that prompt measures could be taken in the name of a member of the Stationers' Company in case any publisher attempted to infringe Cripps's monopoly.

Young's important position in the trade and in the Stationers' Company was no doubt an important point in Cripps's favour. We have seen that Young was in certain quarters looked upon as a rogue, and that the law had very

<sup>1</sup> Michael Sparke Entered for his copies under the hand of Master Knight, warden, and by consent of Henry Cripps all the estate that the said Henry Cripps hath in the three copies hereafter mentioned  
 Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy  
 Godwin's Antiquities  
 A sermon of Peter du Moulin

<sup>2</sup> So later editions of Godwin's *Antiquities* have Cripps's name but never Sparke's.

recently been put in force against him for infringing the monopoly of the Bible printing, by printing Bibles in Scotland and illegally selling them in England. He would thus not be anxious to force a fresh charge of flagrant piracy.

What probably happened is that Cripps, on learning that Young had begun to print an edition of the *Anatomy*, put before him that as his projected piracy had been discovered, and it would be impossible for him to get rid of copies in England, he had better make the best of a bad bargain and come to terms with the rightful owners of the copyright, who would consent to his continuing the printing for them—on their own terms. That an agreement had been reached seems clear from the fact that the author's additions and corrections were incorporated by the Edinburgh printers.

Matters thus arranged, everything might have been expected to go on smoothly, and we should have had a complete Edinburgh printed edition of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, when another disturbing element entered to upset the scheme.

In April 1637 the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of Scotland, generally known as Laud's Prayer Book, which had occupied Young's press off and on for two years, was at length published—with very disastrous results. The troubles it raised were far spreading and Young, the special object of his work in Scotland being accomplished, appears to have parted with most of his material to Anderson and Bryson, and returned to London.

What I suggest is that when this break-up of the Edinburgh office took place, Young had printed as far as page 346 of the book. An inevitable pause would occur in its production and Burton and Cripps were not in a mood for delay. Looking at the regular sequence and sale of the earlier editions, 1621, 1624, 1628, 1632, the fifth edition was overdue. Young was still anxious to fulfil his contract and complete the book, but Cripps was in a hurry. A compromise was effected. The



Oxford printers, Lichfield and Turner, were commissioned to continue from where Young had left off, and Young was to get a London printer to do the last part at the same time.<sup>1</sup>

All this is, of course, pure conjecture, but there appears no other way to account for the London printed section. Had there been no hurry, either Young might have finished the edition in London himself, or Cripps in Oxford.

When the various portions of the book had been completed and collected at Oxford all that remained to be printed was the prefatory matter and, presumably, the last sheet. This again is a point which only a printing expert can determine.

The well-known engraved frontispiece was prefixed. This, originally engraved for the edition of 1628, is the work of Charles le Blon and is the only piece of work by him in an English book registered in the British Museum Catalogue of English Engravings. It contains a number of compartments containing representations of various aspects of melancholy and objects relating to it.<sup>1</sup> It was used in the third and every other edition of the book issued in the seventeenth century. It underwent, however, several changes. The second time it was used—in the fourth edition—small numerals were added in the margin opposite the various compartments, for reference to the verses opposite. After use in these two editions the plate became somewhat worn, and it was touched up for the fifth, the edition which we have been considering. Burton took the opportunity for a whimsical change. So far the picture in the little oval had depicted him with bare head and a certain reasonable amount of hair. Now he appears in a neat embroidered skull-cap or night-cap. This may have been assumed as a dignified addition to an author who was now the rector of Segrave, but I expect Burton had other reasons. We must always remember the dry humorous way in which

<sup>1</sup> At the top is a picture of Democritus, at the foot a half-length portrait of the author 'Democritus junior' in an oval frame.

he regarded everything, and he was now an old man and probably bald. Since his book circulated much in Oxford he may have wished his portrait to keep as near the truth as possible. It might be a gentle hint that his worries with the Edinburgh printers had turned his hair grey or deprived him of it altogether. But there is, perhaps, a deeper meaning in it. He was putting on his night-cap to take leave of his readers and the world. Fond of casting nativities, he had cast his own and predicted his death for the beginning of 1640. This then would be the last edition he would revise, his last appearance before his readers. And so he put on his cap. True to his prediction, he died on 25 January 1640, so near to his prophecy that certain of the ill-natured amongst the students asserted that he had 'sent up his soul to heaven through a noose about his neck' in order that his calculation might be verified.

You may think this a far-fetched and improbable explanation, but those who know Burton know how freakish he was and how he would have enjoyed such a quip.

In the sixth edition the frontispiece remains the same, but for the seventh it was entirely reworked, and very skilfully. Though some of the delicate details disappear, the result is clearer and bolder. It again appears, untouched, in the last edition of 1676, though the learned writer in *Notes and Queries* speaks of this last edition as being disfigured by a burlesque imitation of the old title-page.

I hope I have now brought to your notice some of the very many interesting points connected with this Scottish edition of the *Anatomy*, though I cannot hope to have satisfactorily explained the many difficulties connected with it. To that end I must ask for any suggestions from our members. While working on a particular subject one gets fixed notions which bias all succeeding investigations and which a happy suggestion may upset or start the question from a new point of view.

To conclude, I must add, as is fitting, that all ended well. Burton died in 1640 and the Oxford printers and Young entered on amicable relations. In 1640 appeared a book more famous even than Burton's, the first edition in English of Bacon's *Advancement and Proficiency of Learning*, and this was printed by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the famous University, for Robert Young.

## AN ELIZABETHAN PRINTER AND HIS COPY

By W. W. GREG

THE British Museum possesses a manuscript, classed as Additional 18920, which is thus described in the official catalogue: 'Cantos xiv.-xlvi. of Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso," translated into English stanzas of *ottava rima* by Sir John Harington; with notes, *etc.* The copy, in Sir John's own handwriting, used for the original edition of the work by Richard Field, in 1591. It has numerous corrections and alterations of passages, with instructions to the printer. Paper; end of xvith cent. Quarto.' A few details may be added. The manuscript is imperfect both at the beginning and the end: not only are the first thirteen cantos missing, but the Argument to canto xiv is likewise absent; and though the poem itself is complete at the end, the text breaks off in the middle of the Allegory. The volume has also suffered severely at the hands of the binder, the margins being cropt in such a way as greatly to injure all prose portions (notes, commentary, &c.) and likewise marginal additions, though the original verse text is untouched. The leaves now measure about  $8\frac{1}{4}$  by  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Though itself evidently a fair copy, the manuscript has been extensively revised, in some cases additional stanzas being written in the margin, in others substitutions being pasted over the original text, while minor alterations are frequent. At the foot of the first page preserved are the initials 'E. H.' in another hand: we may fairly suppose them to be those of some later Harington, the family having been much addicted to the preservation of old papers. A note at the beginning, added when the manuscript came to the Museum, states that it was 'Purchased of Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Boone. 24 Apr. 1852. (from Sale at Sotheby's)'.

The fact that we possess copy which has actually passed

through the hands of an Elizabethan printer does not appear to be generally known to bibliographers. In spite of Harington's manuscript having been for over seventy years in the British Museum, almost the only allusion to it I have seen is in a short contribution to *Notes and Queries* in 1910<sup>1</sup>. Yet it is hardly necessary to insist on the importance of the information to be derived from such a source. Like other autograph copies of literary works, it tells us much that is curious as to the manner in which the composition took shape: its outstanding interest, however, is the opportunity it affords us of watching an Elizabethan compositor at work and noting some of the technicalities of his craft.

With the literary interest of the manuscript I am not at present concerned, but I should like, before passing on, to give a single sample of the alterations introduced by the author in the course of revision. In Ariosto the first two stanzas of canto xxxiii run as follows (in ed. Venice, 1584):

## I

Timagora, Parrafio, Polignoto,  
Protogene, Timante, Apollodoro,  
Apelle, più di tutti questi noto,  
E Zeusi, e gli altri, ch' a quei tempi foro,  
De' quai la fama (mal grado di Cloto,  
Che spense i corpi, e dipoi l' opre loro)  
Sempre starà, fin che si legga, e scriua,  
Mercè de gli scrittori, al mondo viua.

## 2

E quei, che furo à nostri dì, o son ora,  
Leonardo, Andrea Mategna, Gian Bellino,  
Duo Dossi, e quel, ch' à par sculpe, e colora  
Michel, più che mortal, Angel diuino,

<sup>1</sup> See, however, a note by Mr. H. F. B. Brett-Smith in Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, 1916, p. 42.

Bastiano, Rafael, Titian, ch' onora  
 Nò mē Cador, che quei Venetia, e Vrbino,  
 E gli altri di cui tal' opra si uede,  
 Qual de la prisca età si legge, e crede.

This is rendered by Harington, according to the edition of 1591 :

## I

*Tymagoras, Parrhasius, Polignote,*  
*Timant, Protogenes, Apollodore,*  
*Zewces*, a man for skill of speciall note :  
*Apelles* eke, plaist all the rest before :  
 Whose skill in drawing, all the world doth note  
 And talke of still (to writers thanks therefore)  
 Whose works and bodies, time & death did wast,  
 Yet spite of time and death their fames doth last.

## 2

With others that in these our later dayes  
 Haue liu'd, as *Leonard* and *Iohn Belline*,  
 And he that carues and drawes with equall praise,  
*Michell* more then a man, Angell diuine,  
 And *Flores*, whom the Flemmings greatly praise,  
 And *Raphael* and *Titian* passing fine :  
 With diuerse others that by due defart,  
 Do merit in this praise to haue a part.

On turning to the manuscript, however, we find that the last couplet underwent alteration ; it originally ran, not as the printer found it, but thus :

Also our Englyshe Hillyard by defart  
 that meryts in this prayse to haue his part./

The curious may speculate on the reason for the change. Free as is Harington's version of Ariosto, it may have occurred to him that he had here taken a rather unusual liberty.

Certain we are that the alteration marked no failing of his regard for the English miniaturist, for having removed his name from the text Harington wrote in his notes on the passage :

Yet I may say thus much without parcialitie, for the honour of my country, as myne authour hath done for the honour of his : that we haue with vs at this day, one that for limming (which I take to be the verie perfection of that art) is comparable with any of any other country. And for the prayse that I told you of *Parrhasius*, for taking the true lynes of the face, I thinke our countryman (I meane *Mr Hilliard*) is inferiour to none that liues at this day : as among other things of his doing, my selfe haue seen him, in white and blacke in foure lynes only, set downe the feature of the Queenes Maiesties countenance ; that it was euē thereby to be knowne ; and he is so perfect therein (as I haue heard others tell) that he cā set it downe by the Idea he hath, without any paterne ; which (for all *Apelles* priuiledge) was more (I beleue) then he could haue done for *Alexander*.

In these same notes Harington apologizes for having ousted Mantegna : ' Also there was *Andrew Mantinea* (whom I for-  
' got [!] to put in, by ouersight in his dew place, but I will  
' make him amends here) '. This is interesting since it shows that the secondary Italian artists were more to him than mere names, and that he rated Mantegna above the Dossi and Sebastiano del Piombo, whom he likewise excludes for the sake of introducing Frans Floris (de Vriendt). I hope that this sample of Harington's work in revision may encourage others to examine his manuscript further from the literary point of view.

Meanwhile I pass to bibliography. That the manuscript has actually been through the printer's hands is evident from the fact that he has placed in the margins a series of symbols indicating the points at which the several pages of the printed text begin. To take a sample at random, we find the following signs occurring in cantos XVII-XVIII :

$\frac{M.pr'}{131}$	$\frac{m.2.}{132}$	$\frac{m.3.}{133}$	$\frac{m.4}{134}$	$\frac{m.6.}{136}$	$\frac{m.7}{137}$
$\frac{m.8.}{138}$	$\frac{m.9.}{139}$	$\frac{m.10}{140}$	$\frac{m.11.}{141}$	$\frac{m.12.}{142}$	



These are, of course, signatures and numeration, and it will be observed that the signature 'm.5.' and the number '135' are absent. Turning to the printed text we find that the page in question begins with some of Harington's notes in prose. In the earlier portion of the poem these notes must have been supplied to the printer separately, for they are absent from the manuscript; the earliest notes there preserved are those to canto xxvi

The remarkable thing, however, about these symbols is the system upon which the signatures are rendered. The numbers 131-142 refer to pages, not folios, and the quire 'M' is a regular ternion of six leaves. Thus the signs 'M.pr.', 'm.2.', . . . 'm.12.' likewise refer to pages, and not to leaves; so that 'm 3.' corresponds to the page bearing the signature 'M 2' in the printed book, 'm 7' to 'M 4', and so on. This eccentric method must have been very inconvenient, but it would seem to have been traditional, and may date from the very infancy of printing. It can at least be traced to Venice and the early years of the sixteenth century. 'Galenī librorum pars quinta', a folio printed by Aldus in 1525, contains the *editio princeps* of Galen's commentary on a tract of Hippocrates, the copy for which is still extant in the Vatican library. A page of this manuscript has been reproduced by Dr. Johann Mewaldt ('Die Editio princeps von Galenos In Hippocratis de natura hominis': Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912, pp. 892-903, tafel viii) and it shows the printer's sign '13/Aa' at the point at which Aa 7 recto begins in the printed text.

Harington not only subjected his manuscript to elaborate revision, but prepared it for press with care. It contains several interesting directions to the printer. Thus after canto xxiii the author wrote: 'Between the xxij<sup>th</sup> booke and the xxiii<sup>th</sup> I would have a spare leafe . . .' (the rest of the note is shorn off). The printer marked in the margin

'Q 8 | R.p.<sup>r</sup> | R 2 |', and further at the head of canto xxiv 'R 3' (replacing 'Aa 3' deleted). In the printed volume we in fact find Q 4 verso blank, R 1 recto blank, R 1 verso occupied by an engraved plate, and the text resuming on R 2 recto (= 'R 3' of the printer's notation). Harington asked for a blank leaf, Field gave him a blank opening. Presumably it served equally well its purpose, which seems to have been to mark a break in the text. It will be observed that the printer's original intention was to begin a fresh alphabet in the signatures ('Aa' &c.): he did in fact begin a fresh quire, leaving Q with four leaves only in place of the normal six, though six are allowed for in the pagination (Q 4 recto = p. 185, R 2 recto = p. 193).

Below the notes to canto xxix is a not very clear direction apparently concerned with the manner in which a quotation from Ovid '*De fastis*' should be printed; and below those to canto xxxiii: 'Yow must quote the numbers by the fydes, as I have donne in the story', that is, the page-references must be made to suit the printed text. But the most important of these directions occurs where 'ends the notes of the xlvj<sup>th</sup> and last canto', and runs: 'Mr ffeeld I dowt this will not 'come in in the last page, and thearfore I wowlde have [yow?] 'immedyatly in the next page after the fynysheinge of this last 'booke, with some prety knotte. to set down the tytle, and a 'peece of the Allegory as followeth in this next page./ I would 'have the allegory (as allso the appollygy and all the prose that 'ys to come except the table D] in the same printe that Putnams 'book ys./' It was this direction that formed the subject of a communication to *Notes and Queries* (May 1910, p. 404), in which Mr. C. Hughes pointed out that it affords important confirmation of a Puttenham's alleged authorship of the famous *Art of English Poesy*, which was printed by Field two years before *Orlando*, and is in fact in the same type as the 'allegory'. It should perhaps be mentioned that the word

'Putnams' in the direction has been gone over with the pen, but it does not seem to have been altered. I confess that to me Harington's instructions as to typographical arrangement are not very clear, and I may observe that by 'the appollygy' he appears to refer to a section at the beginning, not at the end, of the printed volume. Whether Field interpreted his wishes correctly I do not know: what he did was to place a 'prety knotte', in the shape of a printer's ornament, below the notes to canto XLVI, and continue immediately with the heading and text of the Allegory. The position of the 'knotte' he indicated by inscribing in the manuscript a symbol, now rather obliterated but apparently

51

no doubt the number which the ornament bore in his stock. I ought perhaps to mention that all the signs added by the printer are written, not in chalk or pencil, but in ink.

Incidentally it may be observed that on the whole the manuscript is remarkably clean and shows little material sign of having passed through the printer's hands. There is no reason to suppose that all printers would handle their copy with equal care, but it is clear that the present manuscript at least was treated with respect and duly returned to the author; and it may have been too readily assumed that any copy sent to an Elizabethan printer would in the nature of things be destroyed. After all, at a time when circulation in manuscript was still common and manifolding unknown, and when a carefully written copy of a work was more esteemed than one printed (as can, I think, be demonstrated), a printer must often have been called upon to deal with copy which the owner valued and would expect to receive again in good condition.

It may be thought that so far I have been dealing with points of mere antiquarian curiosity. Certainly if this were

all we could learn from the manuscript, it could hardly claim the singular importance I have ascribed to it. Its real value, however, for bibliographical criticism, lies in the opportunity it affords for observing how far an Elizabethan compositor followed his copy in the matter of spelling, punctuation, and the like. While it is of course dangerous to generalize dogmatically from a single instance, such an actual example is evidently of the greatest use in checking or corroborating *a priori* speculation on the point. I propose, therefore, to print on opposite pages the opening stanzas of canto xxix as they stand in the manuscript and in the print of 1591, and subject their peculiarities to a close analysis. But before doing so there is one passage of particular orthographic interest to which I should like to call attention. This is the final couplet of stanza 79 in canto xxxiv, which stands thus at the foot of fol. 202<sup>a</sup> of the manuscript :

this was that guyft (beet fayd withowt offence)  
that Conftantyn gave Sylvefter long fens.

Here the author seems to have felt that 'beet' was perhaps not altogether a satisfactory spelling, for in the margin below he added the alternatives 'b'it be't', whether as a direction to the printer or merely by way of trial it is impossible to say. Field chose the second alternative, and printed :

This was that gift (be't faid without offence)  
That *Conſtantin* gaue *Silueſter* long ſince.

It will be seen that there is here but one slight deviation from modern spelling, and that so insistent is the printer's desire for uniformity in this respect that he has actually substituted 'since' for 'fens' to the detriment of the rime. One rather wonders whether Harington read his proofs.

MS. Addit. 18920, fol. 140<sup>a</sup>.*The contents of y<sup>e</sup>. xxix. book.*

*fayr Isabel, to loose her bed is gladd,  
 To save her chastitie, from Pagans might,  
 to pacifye her ghost, the Pagan sad,  
 maketh a bridg, at which falls many a knight :  
 Orlando cometh thither, being madd,  
 Into the water both together light.  
 from thence, the madman onward stil proceeds,  
 and by the way, doth straung, and monstrous deeds./*

## 1

Oh myndes of men, vnconstant, and vnstable,  
 as subiect vnto chawnge, as western wynde,  
 In all defygntmentē fond, and varyable,  
 but cheefly those, that love breeds in the mynde :  
 Loe hee that late devyfd, all hee was able,  
 to slawnder and defase, all women kynde,  
 yet now with them whome hee so fore revylde,  
 evn of the sudden hee ys reconcylde./

## 2

Certes, most noble dames I ame so wrothe,  
 with this vyle turke, for this his wycked sinne,  
 for speaking so great slawnder, & vntroth,  
 of that sweet sex, whose grace I fayn would win :  
 that till soch tyme, hee shall confesse the troth,  
 and what a damned error, he was in,  
 I shall him make be so in conscyence stownge,  
 as hee shall tear his fleshe, and byte his towng./

## 3

But with what folly, hee was then possessed,  
 the sequell of the matter playn doth show,  
 for hee that yesterday him selfe professed,  
 to all the kynd a sworn and open foe :

Field's Edition, 1591, p. 234.

THE ARGVMENT.

*Faire Isabell, to loose her head is glad,  
To saue her chaslitie from Pagans might :  
To pacifie her ghost, the Pagan sad,  
Maketh a bridge, at which falls many a knight :  
Orlando commeth thither, being mad,  
Into the water both together light.  
From thence the madman onward still proceeds,  
And by the way doth straunge and monstrous deeds.*

I

Oh mynds of men, vncon-stant and vnstable,  
As subiect vnto chaunge, | as Western wynd,  
In all designments fond, & | variable,  
But chiefly those, that | loue breeds in the mynd :  
Lo he that late deuisd all | he was able,  
To flaunder and deface all women kynd,  
Yet now with them whom he so fore reuild,  
Eu'n on the sudden, he is reconcild.

2

Certes (most noble Dames) I am so wroth,  
With this vile Turke, for this his wicked sin,  
For speaking so great sclander and vntroth,  
Of that sweet sex, whose grace I fayn would win,  
That till such time, he shall confess the troth,  
And what a damned error he was in :  
I shall him make be so in conscience stoung,  
As he shall teare his flesh, and byte his tounge

3

But with what folly, he was then possessed,  
The sequell of the matter playn doth show ;  
For he that yesterday him selfe professed,  
To all the kynd, a sworne and open foe :

now to a strawnger, on in state distressed,  
 whose byrth, whose kin, whose name, he doth not know,  
 with one small glawnce, and sober cast of ey,  
 was so enthralld hee woos her by and by./

## 4

And as new fanfy doth his hart enflame,  
 so to new speach yt doth his towng dyrect,  
 a new discowrce new reasons hee doth frame,  
 with great pswacions but to small effect :  
 for still the godly fryre refutes the fame,  
 exhorting her soch speeches to neglect,  
 and fast to hold her purpose good and holly,  
 of farving god, and leaving wordly folly./

## 5

*Sent:* Saying the way of death, ys large, and spacyous,  
 but that to lyfe, ys strayt, and full of payn,  
 Rodomownt seeing him, still so awdacious,  
 In spyte of him this doctryn to mayntayn :  
 stepps to him, and w<sup>th</sup> hand & towng vngracious,  
 ffyrst bidds him get him, to his sell agayne,  
 Then his long beard, grown on his aged chin,  
 all at one pull, hee pylleth from the skin./

## 6

*Simile* And so far foorth his wrath and fury grew,  
 hee wryngs his necke as pincers wryng a nayle,  
 and twyfe, or thryfe, abowt his hed him threw,  
*Simile* as husbandmen, that threfhe do tosse a flayle :  
 Dyvers reports, doe afterward ensfew,  
 but which be trew, and which of truth do fayle,  
 Is hard to say : some say hee was so battered, '  
 that all his lymms, abowt a rocke wear skattered./



Now to a straunger, one in state distressed,  
Whose birth, whose kin, whose name he doth not  
With one small glaunce, & sober cast of ey, (know,  
Was so enthralld, he woos her by and by.

4

And as new fanſie doth his heart enflame,  
So to new ſpeech it doth his tounge direct,  
A new diſcourſe, new reaſons he doth frame,  
With great perſwaſions, but to ſmall effect :  
For ſtill the godly Frire refutes the fame,  
Exhorting her ſuch ſpeeches to neglect,  
And faſt to hold her purpoſe good and holly  
Of ſeruing God, and leauing wordly folly,

5

Saying the way of death is large and ſpacious,  
But that to life, is ſtraight and full of paine.  
*Rodomont* ſeeing him ſtill ſo audacious,  
In ſpite of him, this doctrine to maintaine :  
Steps to him, and with hand and tounge vngracious  
Firſt bids him get him to his cell againe,  
Then his long beard, growne on his aged chin,  
All at one pull, he pilleft from the ſkin.

*Sentence.*

6

And ſo farre forth his wrath and furie grew,  
He wrings his necke, as pincers wring a naile,  
And twiſe or thrife about his head him threw,  
As husbandmen that theſh, do toſſe a flaile :  
Diuerſe reports do afterwards enſew,  
But which be true, and which of truth do faile,  
Is hard to ſay : ſome ſay he was ſo battered,  
That all his limbs about a rocke were ſcattered.

*Simile.*

*Simile.*

## 7

Som say that to the sea hee hurled him  
 thowghe dyvers furlongs distant from the place,  
 and that hee dyde, because hee cowld not swim,  
 others report, som saynt did him that grace :  
 to save his lyfe, and heale each broken lim,  
 and to the shore, to bring him in short space.  
 the lykelyhood heerof, who lyst may way,  
 for now of him I have no more to say./

The contrast between these texts will be apparent to the most cursory inspection. Harington's spelling is at least as archaic and irregular as that of the average educated writer at the end of Elizabeth's reign. By comparison Field's is regular and modern; it is, indeed, more consistently modern than that of most printers of the time. Of course this is only generally, though it is very generally, true. Here and there Harington may chance to have the modern and Field the archaic spelling. For instance, Harington twice has the word 'slawnder' (1<sup>6</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>) in which the diphthong was normal in his day and the 'w' is a personal idiosyncrasy: Field once prints 'slaunder' and once 'sclander', the latter being an etymological spelling which modern usage has discarded. Again Harington (in 5<sup>2</sup>) has 'strayt' for narrow, where Field prints 'straight'; but the forms were not distinguished in Elizabethan English. Lastly, Field prints in a single line (6<sup>1</sup>) the forms 'farre' and 'furie' where Harington happened to write 'far' and 'fury'.

Sometimes, though rarely, Field made alterations in the text that cannot be brought within the limits of orthography. On the border is that (in 6<sup>5</sup>) whereby 'afterward' becomes 'afterwards', which seems to show that the modern form was already becoming prevalent. In another place (7<sup>6</sup>) he actually alters a sentence by substituting 'did bring' for

## 7

Some say that to the sea he hurled him,  
Though diuerse furlongs distant from the place,  
And that he dide, because he could not swim :  
Others report, some faint did him that grace,  
To saue his life, and heale each broken lim,  
And to the shore did bring him in short space.  
The likelihood hereof, who list may way,  
For now of him, I haue no more to say.

'to bring': Harington's construction is quite correct, but Field's is rather easier to follow. It may, of course, be an author's correction in proof.

The same remarks apply to punctuation. Harington's is curiously mechanical. In every stanza of the extract there is a colon at the end of the fourth and a full stop at the end of the eighth line, quite regardless of the sense (see particularly the colon after 7<sup>4</sup>). All the other lines end with a comma, except one which is accidentally unpointed, and two which are allowed full stops. Within the line there is usually at least one comma marking a pause, which may or may not be grammatically required. Field evidently had no intention of following his copy in this respect any more than in its old-fashioned spelling. In two stanzas out of the eight he discards the central colon, in one he alters the final stop to a comma (and in one accidentally omits it). Heavier stops are used at the end of other lines where demanded by the sense. The internal commas largely disappear, and there is a distinct though by no means consistent tendency to confine them to grammatical positions, as may be seen in the last line of the Argument and the first of stanza 5. But again there is no uniformity: in the very last line Field has introduced a purely rhetorical comma which is not in the manuscript.

The exceptions, however, hardly affect the general rule.

In spelling, and to a less extent in punctuation, too, the tendency of the printed text towards modernization is sufficiently uniform to render any departures from standard usage very noticeable. And when we find that such anomalies as occur reproduce with few exceptions the peculiarities of the copy, we can hardly doubt that it is the influence of that copy upon the eye of the compositor that is responsible for his lapses from the norm.

Evidence of the influence of the copy on punctuation is restricted but clear. Field, as we have seen, held himself in no way bound to place a colon after the fourth line, and consequently when he does so in spite of the sense, as in stanzas 3 and 5, we may fairly put it down to the influence of the copy. And once this influence is established it may plausibly be traced in a number of cases in which ungrammatical commas are retained as in the first line of the *Argument*, the third of stanza 1, and notably in the second of stanza 5.

The most obvious copy-spelling is the queer word 'Frيره', where the manuscript has 'fryre' (4<sup>b</sup>). The spelling 'friar' was well established at the end of the sixteenth century, and the present variant almost raises a suspicion that the compositor may have been uncertain of the author's meaning. Another clear instance is 'wordly' for 'worldly' (4<sup>b</sup>), a form that was quite archaic. A curious case is the anomalous 'confeff' (2<sup>b</sup>), where the compositor decided, in pursuance of his general custom, to discard the final 'e', but was yet led by his copy to retain the 'ff': a strange lapse for a skilled workman. Two rather striking examples occur in the rimes of the last stanza, where we find 'lim' for 'limb' (cf. 'limbs' in 6<sup>b</sup>) and 'way' for 'weigh'. It may be that here the compositor wished to retain the eye-rimes, though we have seen that he showed no such solicitude elsewhere. Similar cases are the rimes 'holly' for 'holy' (4<sup>b</sup>) and 'ey' for 'eye' (3<sup>b</sup>), though it will be noticed that the line in which the

latter occurs is a little crowded and that the spelling 'glañce, &' has been introduced (for ms. 'glawnce, and') to make room for a word turned over from the line before. There are also a certain number of other spellings which are worth record though not individually of much evidential value. Thus we find 'loofe' for 'lose' (A<sup>1</sup>), 'sequell' (3<sup>2</sup>), 'enthralld' (3<sup>8</sup>), 'fanfie' (4<sup>1</sup>, ms. 'fanfy'; cf. 1<sup>6</sup> 'deface', ms. 'defafe', and 4<sup>3</sup> 'discourfe', ms. 'discowrce'), 'foorth' (6<sup>1</sup>), 'twife or thrife' (6<sup>3</sup>, ms. 'twyfe, or thryfe'), and 'dide' for 'died' (7<sup>3</sup>, ms. 'dyde'). Finally, in view of Field's general habit of modernizing medial 'y' to 'i', the half-dozen cases in which he failed to do so (conspicuously in the rimes to stanza 1) may reasonably be set down to the influence of the copy. I should add that 'pilleth' (5<sup>8</sup>, ms. 'pylleth') is not a copy-spelling but the normal Elizabethan form.

The conclusion to which our evidence leads is then as follows. In such a printing house as Field's, which was as good as any to be found in London at the time, it is evident that the compositors had a recognized standard of their own in the matter of spelling and to a lesser extent in punctuation, and that they adhered to this standard with very fair consistency. Their work was certainly more uniform and more modern than that of any save a very few of the most punctilious writers of their day. This standard they followed without conscious regard for the idiosyncrasies of the author: nevertheless, when they were puzzled by a word in the manuscript, or whenever their attention relaxed, the peculiarities of spelling and punctuation present in the copy tended to be transferred to the printed text. We must be careful how we generalize from the practice obtaining in an office like Field's, but it is reasonable to suppose that inferior craftsmen would have a less rigorous standard, and that while they would make more errors and themselves introduce more anomalies

they would also be more influenced by the manuscript before them and transfer more copy-spellings to the printed text.

This conclusion, arrived at from the analysis of an actual instance in which we can watch the compositor at work, agrees, I think, sufficiently closely with that to which more general considerations have already led critics of the bibliographical school. And if these critics claim that Harington's manuscript confirms their belief that a number of Shakespeare's actual spellings are preserved in the printed editions of his plays, and consequently that unusual spellings there found may legitimately be used to support his authorship of other writing in which they occur, I think they must be allowed to be within their rights.

The accompanying facsimile reproduces, in the same size as the original, fol. 119<sup>a</sup> of Harington's autograph manuscript, and gives an idea of one of the more tidy and less corrected passages. The arguments are not usually written in double columns and not always in Italian script: sometimes they appear to have been added later. The printer's symbol

T·5

215·

is seen in the margin opposite the 'Argument'. Above it is the number '214·', and probably a 'T·4' has been shorn off at the top. This upper symbol indicates the page occupied in the printed edition by the engraved plate to canto xxvii.

The Argument of y<sup>e</sup> xxvij. booke.

C. 5

215.

Rogero, and the other Pagan kings,  
make Charls again to Paris will retire,  
Among the Turke new seed of quarrel springs;  
and kindles in their hearts a quenchles fyre.

which all their Campe in great disorder brings.  
Agramant to Appease them doth desyre.  
Rodomont leaveth the Campe in rage and wrath,  
Because his mistres him forsaken hath,

I know the many rare <sup>1</sup> and speciall questes,  
that in the fennall <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~ found to fill,  
this one yett thereto, that they at needest shalld  
geve best aduise, and then most redy will:  
But now, except he thynke, and chynce, and best,  
how they part may answer toger fyt:  
by wast aduise doth often wasteth him;  
and doth attempt the thyngs that do not best him.

Womens witts more  
sudden then mens.

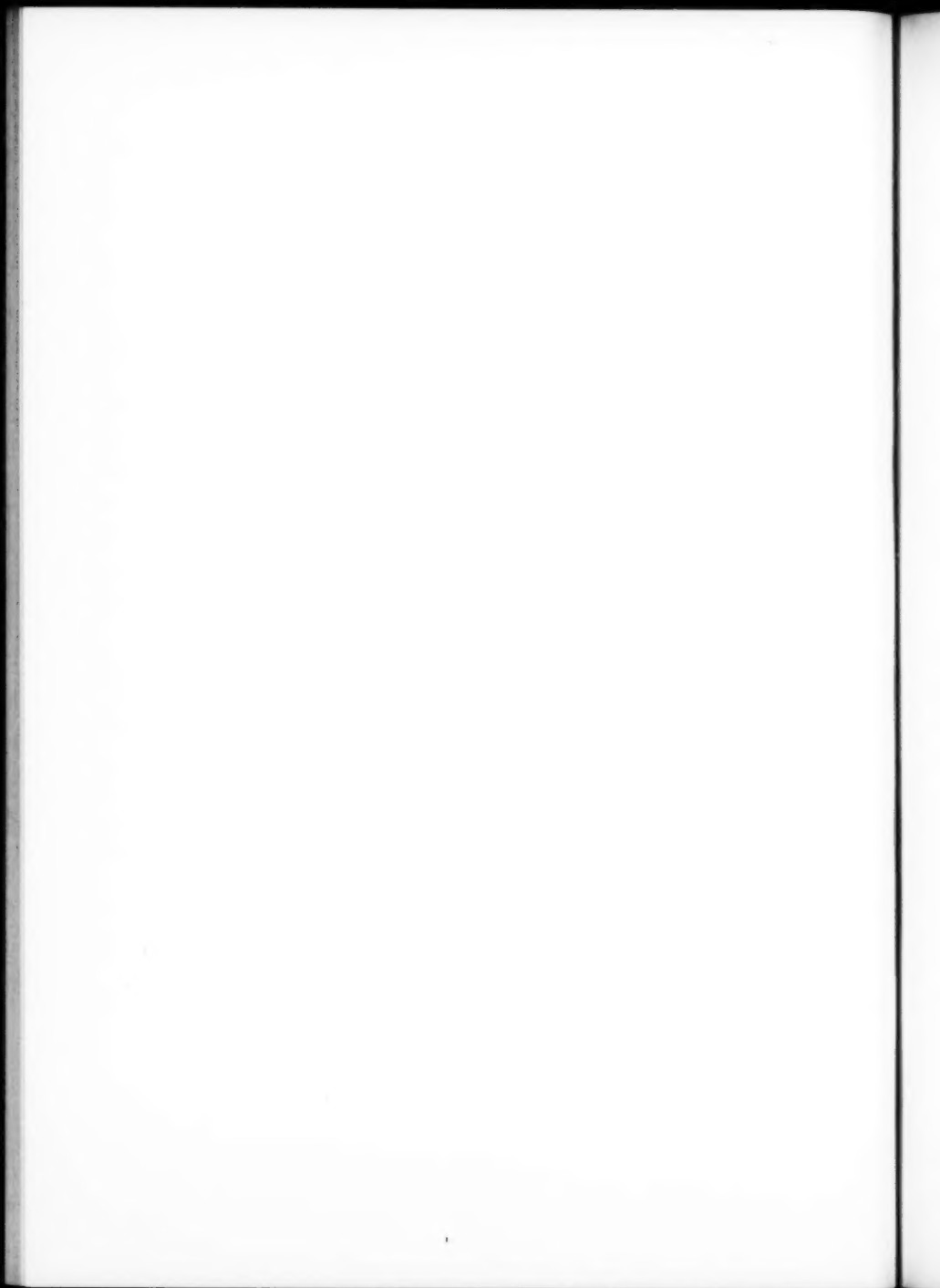
Good, mallygygi thought hee had done myghty,  
In making Dordayne to Paris fly.  
but if hee had the matter more peryously  
thought, in goodlye waye perswaded by,  
he woulde have sooner confest yt done myghty:  
his lacke, with so great a lesse to buy,  
for by the waye not wyllyng, hee there not forth myghty  
a lesse unpardonable to Charls more myghty.

A lasse howe myghty hee had better done,  
if hee had made the fenn the wyllyng, sending  
unto the fah or wyllyng of the fenn,  
to rest, or cast, or any other way,  
to hear Rodomont and Agramant fenn,  
from Paris wyllyng, myghty had some fenn affray.  
but hee that wyllyng myghty chynce wyllyng,  
so at the tyme quod hee fenn a deuil.

~~Frenchman~~

To he fenn hee fenn, best most fenn, ended,  
and not before perswaded any place.  
Hee quodly all the company, distressed,  
now hant hee hee away, a reman part,  
but over brooke, and stream, and dore, hee ended.  
The wyllyng shall for and in, in fenn, myghty,  
now hant hee hee, to fenn, fenn, fenn, and fenn:  
untill hee, quod more past the Christen camp.  
The fenn did hee more.





## MILTON, SALMASIUS, AND DUGARD

By F. F. MADAN

### I. THE FIRST EDITION OF MILTON'S *PRO POPULO ANGLICANO DEFENSIO*

THE treatise known as the *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* of Milton, which occupied its author for almost the whole of the year 1650, is important as being the official reply of the Parliament to the *Defensio Regia* of Salmasius, which was having a serious effect upon public opinion on the Continent. It is also interesting as having been printed by William Dugard, who, in February of the same year, had been committed to Newgate for 'printing several scandalous books against the Commonwealth', but had since been released, restored to his post as head master of Merchant Taylors' School, and appointed 'Printer to his Highnes the Lord Protector'. The *Defensio* was ordered to be printed on 23 December 1650, and on 31 December Dugard entered for his copyright at Stationers' Hall. More than a dozen editions followed within the first two years, having on the title-page a device of the Commonwealth arms and the imprint, 'Londini, Typis Dugardianis' with the date. One edition is dated 1650 and the remainder are dated 1651 or 1652. It has not unnaturally been assumed that the 1650 edition, a duodecimo, 244 pages, mentioned by Lowndes, is the first; and, with less apparent justification, that a 1651 quarto edition, 205 pages, also mentioned by Lowndes, is the second. But as the *Defensio* was not ordered to be printed till 23 December 1650, it cannot have been published before, at the earliest, the following January; and the 1650 imprint

must, therefore, represent the old style of dating, under which the year did not begin till 25 March. The Julian year was not officially adopted in England till 1752, but it is found in use as early as the Civil War; an instance of its adoption by Dugard being his 'Counsel for Youth . . . by H. V. . . . London, Printed by William Du-gard in the year MDCL', the Museum copy of which has been dated by Thomason 'Jan. 28, 1649' (*B.M. E.* 590. 9). Thus the date alone is not conclusive evidence of priority. Again, in spite of the imprints, the various editions are obviously not the productions of a single press, and cannot all be Dugard's. There are not less than six different versions of the arms on the title-page, which are evidently copied from a common original. Two editions are known to be Elzevirs, and there is contemporary evidence of at least three other continental reprints. Thus it cannot be assumed that any particular edition was really printed by Dugard. It is, therefore, necessary to look for other evidence to determine which was the first edition of the *Defensio*.

The facts known about the publication of the *Defensio* are mostly to be found in Masson's *Life of John Milton*, 1877, vol. iv, and may be summarized as follows. On 29 November 1649 the Council gave orders for the search of ships coming from the Netherlands 'for certain scandalous books which 'are there printed against the government of this Commonwealth, entitled *Defensio Regia*, and which are designed to 'be sent over hither': while on 8 January 1650 Milton was ordered to prepare a reply, which occupied him for the remainder of the year. As already noted, the reply was ordered to be printed on 23 December 1650, and copyright was entered on 31 December. The next stages can be traced with some accuracy from the *Mercurius Politicus*, with which Milton himself had some concern (Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 330 foll.). In no. 33 of that periodical (16-23 January

JOANNIS MILTONI

Angli

PRO POPULO ANGLICANO  
DEFENSIO

Contra *Claudii Anonymi*, aliàs *Salmasii*,  
Defensionem REGIAM.



LONDINI,

Typis Du-Gardianis, Anno Domini 1651.

Fig. 1. Title of First Edition. First Issue.

1650) the *Defensio* is noted as being in the press; while in No. 39 (p. 638) a Leyden correspondent, under the date 20 February ('March 2, new style'), writes: 'We hear in our Academy, and I was told it at the Hague also, that your Ambassadors will bring with them the Answer to Salmasius': a passage which shows that the *Defensio* was known in Holland to have been published, or at least completed, by that date. The Ambassadors arrived on 18 March (No. 43, p. 697), but copies of the *Defensio* had no doubt reached Holland earlier, as by 20 March ('March 30, new style') it had been generally read at the Hague, and was reported to be 'very much applauded' (No. 43, p. 697). Some correspondence quoted by Masson (op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 317 foll.) shows that it reached Salmasius at Stockholm on 11 April—rather a surprising delay; but on the other hand a letter written at Stockholm on 12 April did not reach Heinsius at Leyden till after 8 May, on which date he writes: 'We have seen five different forms of it [the *Defensio*] here, and they say a Dutch version and a French are in preparation'; and on 18 May, in more detail, 'We have seen already four editions, besides the English one—to wit, one in quarto, published at Gouda: three in duodecimo, of which the first is published by Ludovic Elzevir, the second by John Jansen, and the third by some one at Utrecht: moreover a fifth edition, as Elzevir tells me, is being hurried through the press at the Hague'. Farther on (p. 343) is the information, in a letter of Gronovius dated 17 October, 'Milton's book has been reissued in London, enlarged and in splendid form'.

Thus there is contemporary evidence of two genuine Dugard editions of the *Defensio*, the original and a later enlarged edition, and of a number of continental reprints: while the publication of the first edition can hardly be placed later than the middle of February 1650, and may well have taken place a fortnight earlier. It is now necessary to turn to

the books themselves, the list below being, it is believed, the first attempt to compile a complete list of separate editions of the *Defensio*. These consist of one folio dated 1651, two quartos dated 1651, and the rest duodecimos, one dated 1650 and the others 1651 or 1652; besides a few later editions. Of these one quarto, 205 pages (No. 1, *infra*), and the folio (No. 2) are certainly Dugard's (see descriptions below). The folio, which describes itself as 'editio emendatio' on the title, is quite a fine piece of printing, and has every claim to be regarded as the edition 'enlarged and in splendid form' mentioned by Gronovius; while the quarto is certainly earlier. The remaining quarto, 104 pages (No. 3), is not Dugard's printing, and may almost certainly be identified with the Gouda edition mentioned by Heinsius, which can hardly have disappeared. The remainder (excluding the later editions) are duodecimos—the 1650 edition; seven dated 1651, including the two Elzevirs and one Dutch translation; and two dated 1652. The 1650 and the remaining 1651 editions presumably include the Jansen, Utrecht, and Hague reprints mentioned above. None of these editions resemble any printing of Dugard's that I have seen. On the other hand, they have a strong family likeness to the various current continental editions of the *Defensio Regia*, with which they are frequently found together in the same binding. Excluding for the moment the 1650 edition, they may all be set down as continental reprints.

Thus the issue lies between the 1650 duodecimo and the 1651 quarto mentioned above as being certainly printed by Dugard. It has already been shown that the date is not decisive. If the first edition was published some time in the first half of February, there was ample time—even allowing for the ten days' difference of the old and new styles—for a reprint to have appeared before 25 March, within which period it might still have been dated 1650. A comparison of

the signatures of the two editions is strongly in favour of the quarto, in which edition they begin with the preface (signature B), and do not include the two leaves containing the title-page and errata, which were evidently added after the rest of the work was in type and could not be corrected. In the 1650 edition (and every other except the folio and No. 9) the signatures are unbroken and include the title-page, as would be natural in the case of a reprint. It would be hard to find a parallel, if the 1650 edition is really the earlier. The printing of the 1650 edition is unlike Dugard's, and its ornaments and initial letters do not occur in any of his books that I have seen. The type, which is long primer, differs both in roman and italic from the long primer used by Dugard at about that date (e. g. in Luther's *Colloquia Mensalia*, . . . London, Printed by William Du-Gard, 1652, sign. A3. *B.M.* 478. f. 9). It is unlikely that Dugard would have had two long primer types within so short a period. Again, whoever printed the 1650 edition also printed the duodecimo edition described below as No. 13 (1652, 276 pages). Both the type and the arms on the title-page are identical, and an initial Q and an ornamental letter frame are also common to both editions. This 1652 edition contains an index, found with one of the Elzevir editions, which Dugard is hardly likely to have borrowed. Assuming that neither of these editions were printed by Dugard, their origin is to be sought almost certainly on the Continent, and in some place where the year did not yet begin on 1 January. This condition excludes the Protestant Netherlands (including The Hague, Leyden, and Amsterdam), where the present era had been adopted in 1583; but in the adjoining Spanish Netherlands (including the provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, and Friesland) the old system remained in force till 1700. This suggests that the 1650 edition may be identical with the Utrecht reprint mentioned by Heinsius; and the identity is



confirmed when it is found that the ornaments of the 1650 and connected 1652 edition were in use at Utrecht at the time. Thus a headpiece, a tailpiece, and an initial Q found in these editions also occur in 'Antoni Matthaei J. C. Orationes . . . Ultrajecti, Typis Theodori ab Ackersdijck & Gisberti à Zijll. M. DC. LV.' (B.M. 1374. a. 11). The evidence appears to be conclusive that the real first edition of the *Defensio* is the 1651 quarto, and that the 1650 duodecimo is the Utrecht reprint, from the press of Ackersdijck and Zijll; the confusion of date being due to the survival of the older system of dating in the Spanish Netherlands.

LIST OF SEPARATE EDITIONS OF THE DEFENSIO <sup>1</sup>

PRINTED BY WILLIAM DUGARD

1. JOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DEFENSIO | Contra *Claudii Anonymi*, aliàs *Salmafii*, | Defensionem REGIAM. | [*Round Woodcut containing the Commonwealth arms*] | LONDINI, Typis Du-Gardianis. Anno Domini 1651.

4<sup>o</sup>: pp. [20] + 205 + [1]: sign. [ ]<sup>1</sup>, B-Z<sup>4</sup>, Aa-Ff<sup>4</sup>.

P. [1], title: [3-19], preface: 1-205, the work, in 12 chapters.

There are three issues of this edition.

*First Issue.* As described above, with round woodcut on title (Fig. 1) and no errata leaf, the errata not being corrected. It is possible that the title should be preceded by a blank leaf, as in the issue following.

F. F. Madan.

<sup>1</sup> References and Abbreviations.

*Masson*: Life of John Milton, 1877.

*Willems*: Les Elzevier ... Alphonse Willems ... Bruxelles, Paris, La Haye, 1880.

*Grolier*: Catalogue of Original and Early Editions of some of the Poetical and Prose Works of English Writers from Wither to Prior, New York, MDCCCXV.

B.M.: British Museum. Bodl.: Bodleian Library, Oxford. U.L.C.: University Library, Cambridge.

*Second Issue.* A square metal device, also containing the Commonwealth arms, surrounded by festoons of fruit and other formal ornamentation, is substituted on the title (Fig. 2). A blank leaf precedes the title. No errata leaf, and errata not corrected.

*U.L.C. SSS. 44. 32.*

*Third issue.* The blank leaf is folded round and follows the title, and contains errata (seven lines of the chief errata, with printer's note).

Grolier 582.

*B.M. 599. c. 26 : Bodl. Linc. A. 6. 8 : U.L.C. Q.\* 5. 50.*

The first edition (see Introductory Note). Published about the first half of February 1650-1. The round woodcut was evidently rejected as it was damaged and thought to be inferior. The substituted device much improves the appearance of the title-page, and is the one imitated in other editions. The first issue is probably rare. The only example known to me at present is that in my own possession. An uncut and unbound copy of the third issue seen at a bookseller's measured  $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$ .

Of all the editions bearing the imprint of William Dugard, only this and the folio edition (No. 2) were really printed by him. The round woodcut on the title-page of the first issue occurs in 'Anabaptistarum Scrupuli . . . London, Printed by W. D. In the Year 1650' (*B.M. E. 589. 17*); while the headpiece with the motto 'Cor Unum Via Una' occurs in the 'Counsel for Youth . . . London, Printed by William Du-gard, in the Year MDCL' (*B.M. E. 590. 9*). In 'Dris Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia . . . translated by Capt. Henrie Bell . . . London, Printed by William DuGard . . . 1652' (*B.M. 478. f. 9*) occurs on page 1 the T found before the preface of this edition, as well as in the folio; and also, on sign. A, the elaborate headpiece found on sign. B of

JOANNIS MILTONI

Angli

PRO POPULO ANGLICANO

DEFENSIO

Contra *Claudii Anonymi*, aliàs *Salmasii*,  
Defensionem REGIAM.



LONDINI,

Typis Du-Gardianis. Anno Domini 1651.

Fig. 2. Title of First Edition. Second and Third Issues.

the folio. The Q before Chapter I of this edition also occurs in the folio.

2. JOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DEFENSIO | Contra *Claudii Anonymi*, aliàs *Salmafii*, | Defensionem REGIAM. | [Line] | *Éditio emendatior.* | [Line] | [*device of the Commonwealth arms, surrounded by ornamentation with female head and six boys playing with garlands*] | LONDINI, Typis Du-Gardianis: 1651.

folio: pp. [4] + 263 + [1]: signn. [ ]<sup>3</sup>, B-Z<sup>4</sup>, AA-LL<sup>4</sup>.

P. [1], title: [4], printer's note about errata: 1-20, preface: 21-263, the work.

Grolier 587.

B.M. 600. gg. 13: Bodl. E. 2. 20. *Art, with inscription, not in Milton's handwriting, 'Liber Bibliothecae Bodleianae ex dono Auctoris. A<sup>o</sup>D. 1651': U.L.C. Syn. 3. 65 (2).*

Genuine Dugard printing, see under No. 1, *supra*. The Order Books of the Council of State contain the following entry dated 5 March 1650-1: 'That it be referred to the 'Committee of Examinations to view over Mr. Milton's 'book, and give order for reprinting of it as they think fit.' This, as Masson points out, can hardly refer to the *Eikonoklastes*, the second edition of which had already been published, and probably, therefore, refers to the *Defensio*. The edition must have been published by the beginning of October 1651, as Gronovius mentions it in a letter written from Deventer on 17 October, 'Milton's book has been reissued in London, enlarged and in splendid form' (Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 344).

#### NOT PRINTED BY WILLIAM DUGARD

3. JOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | DEFENSIO | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO: | Contra *Claudii Anonimi*, aliàs *Salmafii*, | DEFENSIONEM REGIAM. | [*device of Commonwealth arms, surrounded by festoons of fruit, with other formal orna-*

mentation]. | Londini, Typis Du Gardianis [but ?  
Gouda]: Anno Domini 1651.

4<sup>o</sup>: pp. [10] + 104 + [6]: signn. A-P<sup>4</sup>.

P. [1], title: [3-10], preface: 1-104, the work: [1-6], index.  
Grolier 581.

Bodl. Byw. S. 5. 9: U.L.C. R. 4. 16.

This edition is found alone, and also as part of 'Claudii  
'Salmasii Defensio Regia, pro Carolo I. Rege Angliae &c.  
'et Joannis Miltoni Defensio, pro Populo Anglicano, . . .  
'Parisiis, Apud viduam Mathurini Du Puis, Via Iacobaeae,  
'sub signo Coronae, M. DC. LI. Cum Permissione.' The  
*Defensio Regia* has a separate title-page with imprint, 'Parisiis,  
'Apud Franciscum Noel, viâ Iacobaeâ. M. DC. L. Cum  
'Permissione.'

Probably printed at Gouda: see Letter of Heinsius, dated  
18 May 1651 (quoted by Masson, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 318).  
'We have seen already four editions, besides the English one  
—to wit, one in quarto, published at Gouda . . .' It is  
unlikely that the Gouda edition has disappeared, and this is  
the only quarto edition known to me, not printed by Dugard.  
The device on the title-page is closely imitated from that of  
the first edition (issues 2 and 3).

4. IOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPVLO ANGLICANO | DE-  
FENSIO, | *Contra* | CLAVDII ANONYMI, aliàs SALMASII, |  
DEFENSIONEM | REGIAM | [*Commonwealth arms*] |  
LONDINI. Typis DV GARDIANIS, [Utrecht, Theodorus ab  
Ackersdijck et Gisbertus à Zijll]: Anno Domini 1650.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [20] + 244: signn. A-L<sup>12</sup>.

P. [1], title: [3-20], preface: 1-244, the work.  
Grolier 580.

B.M. 8133. a. 5 (1).

By the same printer as No. 13 (1652, 276 pages). The arms  
on the title-page (Fig. 3) and the type (long primer) are  
identical. The initial Q on page 15, and the letter frame on

sign. A2 of this edition, occur on page 23 and page 3 of the 1652 edition respectively. The initial Q mentioned above, and the headpiece on page 3 of the 1652 edition, occur on page 1 of

IOANNIS MILTONI  
Angli  
PRO POPULO ANGLICANO  
**DEFENSIO,**  
*Contra*  
CLAVDII ANONYMI, aliàs SALMASII,  
**DEFENSIONEM**  
REGIAM



LONDINI,  
Typis DV GARDIANIS,  
Anno Domini 1650.

Fig. 3. The 1650 title-page.

'Antoni Matthaei J. C. Orationes . . . Ultrajecti, Typis Theodori ab Ackerfdijck & Gisberti à Zijll, M. DC. LV.' (*B.M.* 1374. a. 11); which also has, on the last page of the contents, the tailpiece found on page 22 of the 1652 edition.

The only edition with the date 1650, and, therefore, generally assumed to be the first. For arguments that this edition is really the Utrecht reprint, mentioned by Heinsius, and that the first edition is the 1651 quarto (No. 1, *supra*), see Introductory Note. The discrepancy of date is to be accounted for by the survival of the old system of dating in the Spanish Netherlands. In a copy in my own possession, the 'o' of the date on the title-page has been partly erased to make it look like a '1'; the object being presumably to bring the edition up to date.

*Another issue.*

'Joannis Miltonii | Angli | Pro | Populo Anglicano | Defensio |  
Contra | Claudii Anonymi, | Alias | Salmasii, | Defensio-  
nem | Regiam . . . | Londini, | Typis Du-Gardianis.  
*Anno Domini*, | 1651.

Duodecimo. Collation: A-L, in twelves.

Title as above with triangular ornament preceding the imprint, A 1 (verso blank). "Praefatio," A 2-10. The work, A 11-L 12. Sign. E 4 is misprinted C 4.

So described under *Grolier 583*. I have not seen a copy, but it appears to be another issue of the preceding, with a different title-page. The collation and other particulars agree, including the misprint 'C 4' for 'E 4', which is not likely to have been repeated in a different edition.

5. JOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DE-  
FENSIO | *Contra* | CLAUDII ANONYMI, aliàs SALMASII, |  
DEFENSIONEM | REGIAM. | [*Commonwealth arms*] |  
Londini, Typis Du-Gardianis: 1651.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [20] + 244: signn. A-L<sup>12</sup>.

Pp. [1-20], title and preface: 1-244, the work.

B.M. 521. a. 16 (2): U.L.C. Acton E. 23. 4.

The device on the title-page is not identical with that of any other edition seen.



6. IOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DEFENSIO, | *Contra* | CLAUDII ANONYMI, aliàs SALMASII, | DEFENSIONEM | REGIAM. | *Cum Indice*. | [*Commonwealth arms*] | Londini, Typis Du Gardianis [Elzevir, Amsterdam]: 1651.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. 260+[12]: signn. A-L<sup>12</sup>, M<sup>4</sup>.

P. 1, title: 3-22, preface: 23-260, the work: [1-12], index.

Grolier 586, Willems 1134.

B.M. 600. a. 10 (1): E. 1393.

The device on the title is identical with that of No. 7, both being Elzevirs. Thomason's copy is dated 'Aprill 6<sup>th</sup>', while the date of the imprint is corrected to '1650'. As pointed out by Masson, the date 'April 6<sup>th</sup> 1650', read together, is an impossible one, and evidently Thomason means that he received it on 6 April 1651, but that the work was published in 1650 (i. e. not after 24 March 1650-1).

7. IOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DEFENSIO, | *Contra* | CLAUDII ANONYMI, aliàs SALMASII, | DEFENSIONEM | REGIAM. | [*Commonwealth arms*] | Londini, Typis Du Gardianis [Elzevir, Amsterdam]: 1651.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. 283+[5]: signn. A-M<sup>12</sup>.

P. 1, title: 3-24, preface: 25-283, the work.

Willems 1134.

B.M. 600. a. 11 (1): G. 1766. Bodl. 226. k. 490.

The device on the title-page is identical with that of No. 6, which is also Elzevir. This is presumably the earlier edition, not having the index.

8. An edition 'pp. 1-285, 1651, 16<sup>mo</sup>' mentioned by Willems (No. 1134, note) as not Elzevir. I have not seen a copy.
9. JOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DEFENSIO *Contra* | CLAUDII ANONYMI, alias SALMASII, |

*Defensio* | REGIAM. | [*Commonwealth arms*] |  
Londini, Typis Du Gardianis [J. Jansson, Amsterdam]:  
1651.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [42] + 330: signn. [ ]<sup>2</sup>, A-O<sup>12</sup>, P<sup>10</sup>, Q<sup>8</sup>.

P. [1], title: [5-42], preface: 1-330, the work.

Grolier 584.

B.M. 8122. a. 1 (*wanting blank leaf after title*).

This edition is no doubt the Jansson reprint mentioned by Heinsius (see Introductory Note). The device on the title-page is not identical with that of any other edition seen, but is found on the title of 'Joannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad 'Apologiam Anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Rege & 'Populo Anglicano infantissimam. Londini, Typis Du-gar-dianis. An. Dom. M. DC. LII.', 69 pages (B.M. 292. a. 54), which is mentioned by Willems (No. 1671, note) as printed by J. Jansson of Amsterdam.

10. JOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DEFENSIO | *Contra* | CLAUDII ANONYMI, aliàs | SALMASII, | *Defensio* | REGIAM. | [*Grotesque head, with prominent ears and protruding tongue, within oval frame surrounded by formal ornamentation*] | Londini, Typis Du Gardianis: 1651.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [34] + 389 + [21]: signn. A-S<sup>12</sup>, T<sup>8</sup>.

P. [1], title: [3-34], preface: 1-389, the work: [1-21], index.

Grolier 585.

F. F. Madan.

11. JOANNIS MILTONS | Engelfmans | VERDEDIGINGH | des gemeene Volcks van | Engelandt, | *Tegens* | CLAUDIUS *fonder Naem*, | *alias* | SALMASIUS | Konincklijcke Verdedig-ingh. | [*Commonwealth arms*] | Wt het Latijn overgeset, Na de Copy gedrucht tot Londen, by Du Gardianis: 1651.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [26] + 319 + [3]: signn. A-O<sup>12</sup>, P<sup>8</sup>.

P. [1], title: [3-26], preface: 1-319, the work.

B.M. 522. a. 41 (r).

The device on the title-page is identical with that of No. 12. Attributed in the B.M. catalogue, with a query, to Antwerp. Probably alluded to by Heinsius in his letter dated 8 May 1651 (see Introductory Note): 'They say a Dutch version and a French are in preparation.' I have not found any record of the existence of a French edition.

12. IOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DEFENSIO, | *Contra* | CLAUDII ANONYMI, aliàs SALMASII, | DEFENSIONEM | REGIAM. | [*Commonwealth arms*] | Londini Typis Du Gardianis: 1652.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. 192: signn. A-H<sup>12</sup>.

P. 1, title: 3-16, preface: 17-192, the work.

Grolier 589.

B.M. 600. a. 9 (2): *Bodl. Antiq. f. E. 26*: *U.L.C. kkk. 56*.

Mentioned by Rahir (*Catalogue D'Une Collection Unique de Volumes imprimés par Les Elzevier, Paris 1896*: no. 2058) as ' ? Gouda, G. de Hoeve'. The device on the title-page is identical with that of No. 11, the Dutch translation.

13. IOANNIS MILTONI | Angli | PRO POPULO ANGLICANO | DEFENSIO, | *Contra* | CLAUDII ANONYMI, aliàs SALMASII, | DEFENSIONEM | REGIAM. | *Cum Indice*. | [*Commonwealth arms*] | Londini, Typis Du Gardianis [Utrecht, Theodorus ab Ackersdijck et Gisbertus à Zijll]: 1652.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. 276 + [12]: signn. A-M<sup>12</sup>.

P. 1, title: 3-22, preface: 23-276, the work: [1-12], index.

Grolier 588.

B.M. 600. a. 1.

Some copies (e. g. *U.L.C. R. 6. 71*) have the last page of the text misnumbered '278'. For the attribution to the press of Ackersdijck and Zijll at Utrecht see under No. 4, *supra*.

14. Joannis Miltoni | ANGLI | PRO | Populo Anglicano | DEFENSIO | *Contra Claudii Anonymi*, aliàs | SALMASII |

DEFENSIONEM REGIAM. | [Line] | *Editio correctior & auctior, ab Autore | denuo recognita.* | [Line] | [*Three ornaments*] | [Line] | Londini, Typis Neucombianis : 1658.

12<sup>o</sup> : pp. [16] + 171 + [5] : signn. A-H<sup>12</sup>.

P. [1] title : [3-15] preface : 1-171, the work : [1], errata : [2-5], not seen, ? blank.

B.M. E. 1900.

15. A | DEFENCE | OF THE | People of ENGLAND, | BY | JOHN MILTON : | In ANSWER to | *Salmasius's* Defence of the King. | [*two lines*] | Printed in the Year 1692.

8<sup>o</sup> : pp. [8] + xxii + [2] + 246 + [2] : signn. A<sup>8</sup>, a<sup>8</sup>, B-Q<sup>8</sup>, R<sup>4</sup>.

P. [3], title : [5-8], preface to reader : i-xxii, author's preface : 1-246, the work : [1], advertisement.

Grolier 590.

B.M. 8005. c. 24 (*wanting blank leaf before title*).

Translated by Mr. Washington of the Temple.

16. A | DEFENCE | OF THE | PEOPLE | OF | ENGLAND. | [Line] | By JOHN MILTON. | [Line] | In Answer to *Salmasius's* De-fence of the King. | [Line] | [*thin oblong ornament*] | [*two lines*] | Printed in the Year 1695.

8<sup>o</sup> : pp. [8] + xxii + [2] + 246 + [2] : sign. A<sup>8</sup>, a<sup>8</sup>, B-Q<sup>8</sup>, R<sup>4</sup>.

Pp. [1-2], not seen, ? blank : [3], title : [5-8], preface to reader : i-xxii, author's preface : 1-246, the work : [1], advertisement.

F. F. Madan.

Identical, except for the title-page, with the preceding.

## II. DUGARD'S DEPOSITION IN THE RECORD OFFICE

The deposition of William Dugard, quoted below, is preserved in the Record Office, under the date October 1661. It is reproduced in facsimile in E. Almack's *Bibliography of the King's Book*, Introduction, page 7. The reference is to the harbouring by Dugard of Sir James Harrington, author

of *Oceana*, who was committed in the following November to the Tower. The statement is as follows:

'Wm. DuGard printed

1. The King's incomparable *Εἰκὼν βασιλική* which he received from Mr. Simmons, his Majesty's chaplain.

2. *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*.

3. *Salmasii Defensio Regia*: for which he was cast into Newgate, his wife and six children turned out of doors, and had been tried for his life by an High Court of Injustice, had not Sir James Harrington saved him from that danger, and procured his release; and therefore in point of civility he thought he might entertain him for lodging in his house, being by the Act of Indemnity pardoned, as to life, and ready to render himself to his Majesty's pleasure whensoever his Majesty should so require it.

Ita testor, Guil. Dugard.

April 28, 1649. I received a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas from the Hague, with approbation of my service for his Majesty in that condition and withal a book to print entitled *Στρατωσθηλευτικον*, which afterwards was printed, though I could not do it then, in the time of my troubles.'

The following is an attempt to identify Dugard's editions. Four works are mentioned.

1. *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*. Dugard's connexion with the *Eikon* is well known. It is sufficient to mention the 8<sup>o</sup> edition, 236 pages, which has the imprint 'Printed by W. D. in R. M. Anno Dom. 1649' (Almack, No. 45); while an edition of the 'Apophthegmata Aurea, Regia, Carolina', mentioned in the contents of that edition, has the fuller imprint, 'London, Printed by William Du-gard for Francis Eglesfield at the Marigold in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1649.'

2. *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum In Anglia*, by George Bate. The list below contains some editions not mentioned in Almack's 'A Short Narrative of the Late Troubles in England . . . London, F. E. Robinson, 1902.' Dugard's edition is No. 1, 'Lutetiae Parisiorum, Pro R. R. An. Dom. 1649', which contains an initial I belonging to his press. It is interesting to note that a similar imprint was adopted, no doubt from motives of prudence, in two other editions of the same year

(Nos. 2 and 3), one of which was printed by John Grismond. Another instance of the use of a false imprint by Dugard is the 'Vaticinium Votivum . . . Trajecti, Anno Caroli Martyris Primo' (*B.M. E. 1317. 2*), which is certainly his work, containing several ornaments and initials belonging to his press.

Thomason received his copy of No. 3, which closely resembles Dugard's edition, and was presumably published about the same time, on 10 January [1649-50]. Dugard was arrested in the following February.

3. *Defensio Regia*. This work of Salmasius was published by the Elzevirs not later than the middle of November 1649, as Sarrau (*Letters*, page 216, Burman's edition, Utrecht, 1697) had seen a copy by that date: while on 29 November the Parliament ordered ships coming from the Netherlands to be searched for copies 'designed to be sent over hither'. As Dugard was imprisoned on 2 February, after the seizure of his press, he had only about two months in which to issue a reprint or translation of the work. I have been unable to identify any of the editions in the list given below as Dugard's. It is possible that Dugard's edition exists, outside any of the larger English libraries, but it is more likely that Dugard was still engaged on the work when his press was seized, and that the edition was destroyed.

4. *στρατοστηλιτευτικόν*. Dugard does not state that he himself printed this work. It first appeared under the title 'Cromwell's Bloody Slaughter-House . . . London, Printed for James Davis, . . . 1660' (*B.M. E. 1933.2*) without the knowledge of its author, Dr. Gauden; and subsequently under its author's name as '*στρατοστηλιτευτικόν* . . . London, Printed by T. L. for James Davies . . . 1662' (*B.M. 1104. b. 31*). The printing of the earlier edition does not appear to be Dugard's. An account of the circumstances in which they were published is given in the prefaces to the two editions, by the stationer and author respectively.

## EDITIONS OF THE ELENCHUS MOTUUM NUPERORUM IN ANGLIA

1. *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia*; . . . Paris [London]: 1649.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [12] + 224 + [4]: signn. A<sup>6</sup>, B-K<sup>12</sup>, L<sup>6</sup>.

Sign. 'A', p. [1]: title, [3]: quotations, preface, [6-10]: errata, [12]: the work, 1-244: not seen, ? blank, [3-4].

*B.M.* 600. a. 6.

The full imprint is 'Lutetiae Parisiorum, Pro R. R. An. Dom. 1649'. Really printed in London by William Dugard, no doubt for Richard Royston. The initial I before the preface on sign. A<sup>4</sup> is identical with that found on p. 221 of Sir Walter Raleigh's 'Marrow of Historie . . . London, Printed by W. Du-gard for John Stevenson . . . 1650' (*B.M.* 9005. a. 14). This and the two following editions bear a close resemblance, and were no doubt printed about the same time. This edition was probably the first, as it has the errata, which do not appear in the other editions.

2. *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia*; . . . Paris [London]: 1649.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [12] + 228: signn. A<sup>6</sup>, B-K<sup>12</sup>, L<sup>6</sup>.

Title, quotations, and preface, pp. [3-12]: the work, 1-228.

*U.L.C. R.* 6. 73.

The full imprint is 'Lutetiae Parisiorum, Pro R. R. An. Do. 1649'. Apparently printed by John Grismond, for Richard Royston. The initial I before the preface on sign. A<sup>4</sup> is identical with that found on p. 350 of 'Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum . . . Elias Ashmole . . . London, Printed by J. Grismond for Nath. Brooke . . . M DC LII' (*B.M. E.* 653). See also Nos. 1 and 3.

3. *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia*; . . . Paris [London]: 1649.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [12] + 228: signn. A<sup>6</sup>, B-K<sup>12</sup>, L<sup>6</sup>.



Leaf ornament, p. [1]: title, quotations, and preface, [3-10]: the work, 1-228.

*B.M. E. 1409.*

The full imprint is 'Lutetiae Parisiorum, Pro R. R. An. Dom. 1649'. Almost certainly printed in London, for Richard Royston, see also Nos. 1 and 2. The B.M. copy was received by Thomason on 10 January [1649-50]. I have not identified the printer.

4. *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia; . . . Francofurti ad Maenum, Ex Officina Samuelis Broun: 1650.*

4<sup>o</sup>: pp. 114: signn. A-O<sup>4</sup>, P<sup>7</sup> 1.

Title, quotations, and preface, pp. 1-6: the work, 7-114: ? one or more blank leaves.

*B.M. 9512. b. 25.*

5. *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum In Anglia. . . Editio secunda correctior . . . Edimburgi, Sumptibus Theodori Veridici: 1650.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [8] + 339: signn. a<sup>4</sup>, A-Z<sup>8</sup>, Aa-Ee<sup>6</sup>, Ff<sup>2</sup>.

Title, quotations, and preface, pp. [1-8]: the work, 1-339.

*B.M. G. 3292.*

6. *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum In Anglia . . . Editio secunda correctior. Rothomagi, Apud Iacobum Caillove: 1650.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [8] + 339 + [1]: signn. a<sup>4</sup>, A-Z<sup>8</sup>, Aa-Ee<sup>6</sup>, Ff<sup>2</sup>.

Title, p. [1]: quotations, [3-4]: preface, [5-8]: the work, 1-339.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, N.C. 294. B.*

7. *Abregé Des Derniers Mouvements D'Angleterre . . . A Anvers, Chez Jacques Moens: 1651.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [12] + 252 + [2]: signn. a<sup>6</sup>, A-K<sup>12</sup>, L<sup>6</sup>, [ ]<sup>1</sup>.

Title, dedications, preface, and quotations, pp. [1-12]: the work, 1-235: poems, 235-52: errata, [1].

*B.M. 599. a. 21 (wanting errata leaf): Bodl. 226. k. 406.*

The Hollar plate of King Charles kneeling in profile at a table, with emblems, found with the B.M. copy, is from the

Latin translation of the *Eikon Basilike*, published at The Hague, 1649 (Almack, No. 52).

8. A Compendious Narrative of The late Troubles in England. Or, Elenchus Englished. . . . Printed in the Yeare, 1652.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [12] + 300 (pp. 193-216 omitted).

Not seen, ? blank, pp. [1-2]: title and preface, [3-9]: quotations, [11-12]: the work, 1-300.

B.M. 1326. b. 18.

Apparently printed by John Grismond. The two initial 'T's, before the preface and on page 1 of the text, both occur in 'A Sermon Preached Before His Majesty . . . Nov. the 29, '1648 . . . by H. Ferne, D.D. . . . London, Printed for 'R. Royston . . . 1649' (B.M. E. 473. 38), which contains other ornaments typical of Grismond, including a headpiece with dancing cherubs found in Ashmole's 'Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum . . . London, Printed by J. Grismond for 'Nath. Brooke . . . 1652' (B.M. E. 653).

9. Ristretto Delli Moti Moderni D'Inghilterra, . . . Tradotto del Latino in Italiano dal Dottor Gio: Batt: Birago Auogadro . . . In Venetia, MDCLII. Presso il Turrini.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. 221 + [7]: signn. A-1<sup>12</sup>, K<sup>6</sup>.

Title, p. 1: dedication, 3-4: preface, 5-6: the work, 7-221: advertisement, [1-6].

B.M. 9525. de. 2.

10. Les Vrayes Causes Des Derniers Troubles D'Angleterre. Abbregé D'Histoire . . . A Orange, Chez Edouard Raban: 1653.

sm. 8<sup>o</sup>: pp. [40] + 285 + [3]: signn. .<sup>8</sup>, .<sup>8</sup>, .<sup>8</sup>, A-S<sup>8</sup>, [ ]<sup>3</sup>.

Title, p. [1]: quotation, [2]: dedication, [3-35]: preface, [37-40]: the work, 1-285: errata, [1].

B.M. 9525. de. 1.

The dedication is signed Sorbiere, and dated 1 March 1653, at Orange.

11. *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*; . . . Paris [London]: 1658.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [10]+206: signn. A-1<sup>a</sup>.

Title, quotations, and preface, pp. [1-10]: the work, 1-206: signn.

A 7-10 are misnumbered B 2-5.

*B.M.* 9570. a. 9.

The full imprint is 'Lutetiae Parisiorum, Pro R. R. An. Dom. 1658'. See Nos. 1-3. The edition was no doubt printed in London for Richard Royston.

12. *Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum In Anglia Pars Prima*; . . . Londini, Typis J. Flesher . . . apud R. Royston . . . 1661.

8<sup>o</sup>: pp. [10]+257+[7]: signn. [ J<sup>a</sup>, B-R<sup>a</sup>, S<sup>a</sup>.

Engraved portrait of Charles I, p. [2]: title, dedication, preface, [3-8]: the work, 1-256: epilogue, 257: table, [2-5]: errata, [6].

- Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia Pars Secunda*: . . . Londini, Typis J. Flesher . . . apud R. Royston . . . 1663.

8<sup>o</sup>: pp. [16]+442+[22]: signn. A-Z<sup>a</sup>, Aa-Gg<sup>a</sup>.

False title, beg. *Elenchi*, p. [1]: engraved portrait of Charles II, by Hertochs, [4]: title, dedication, preface, quotations, imprimatur, [5-16]: the work, 1-442: addenda, [1]: table, [2-26].

*B.M.* 599. c. 14.

13. *Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia Pars Prima*; . . . Ab Authore Georgio Bateo, M.D. . . . Recognita & Aucta . . . Londini: J. Flesher for R. Royston: 1663.

8<sup>o</sup>: pp. [12]+152+[4]: signn. A<sup>a</sup>, B-K<sup>a</sup>, L<sup>a</sup>, L<sup>a</sup>.

Engraved portrait of Charles I, p. [2]: title, dedication, preface, and quotations, [3-12]: the work, 1-143: epilogue, 144: index, 145-52: table, [1-4].

- Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia Pars Secunda*: . . . Authore Georgio Bateo, M.D. . . . Editio nova emendata . . . Londini, J. Flesher for R. Royston: 1663.

8<sup>o</sup>: pp. [10]+239+[23]: signn. A-R<sup>a</sup>.

Engraved portrait of Charles II, by Hertochs, p. [2]: title, dedications, preface, quotations, [3-10]: the work, 1-231: index, 233-9: table, [2-20].

*B.M.* 599. c. 15.

14. *Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum In Anglia. Pars Prima; . . . ab Auctore Georg. Bateo M.D. . . . Recognita & Aucta. . . . Juxta Exemplar Londinense, Impressum Amstelodami, 1663.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [12]+174+[2]: signn.  $\mathbf{A}^6$ , A-G<sup>12</sup>, H<sup>4</sup>.

Title, dedication, preface, quotations, pp. [1-10]: portrait of Charles I, [12]: the work, 1-174: epilogue, [1].

- Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia. Pars Secunda; . . . Auctore Georg. Bateo M.D. . . . Juxta Exemplar Londinense, Impressum Amstelodami, 1663.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [16]+288+[28]: signn.  $\mathbf{A}^6$ , A-N<sup>12</sup>, O<sup>2</sup>.

False title, beg. *Elenchi*, p. [1]: title, dedications, preface, quotations, [3-14]: portrait of Charles II, [16]: the work, 1-288: table, [1-28]: colophon, *E Typographia Pauli Warner . . . M.DCLXIII*, [28].

*B.M.* 600. a. 21 (second part only): *Bibliothèque Nationale*, N. C. 295. A.

15. *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia, . . . Ab Authore Georgio Bateo, M.D. . . . Recognita & Aucta. . . . Londini, Typis R. W. pro R. Royston: 1676.*

8<sup>o</sup>: pp. [20]+136+[6]+137-348+20: signn. A<sup>10</sup>, B-Z<sup>2</sup>, Aa<sup>6</sup>, Bb<sup>4</sup>.

Title, dedications, preface, quotations, table, pp. [3-20]: the work, first part, 1-129: epilogue, 130: index, 131-6: title to second part, dedications, preface, quotations, [1-8]: 137-342, the work, second part: 343-348, index: table, [1-20].

- Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia, Pars III. . . . Authore Tho. Skynner, M.D. . . . Londini, Excudebat Guil. Godbid . . . 1676.*

8<sup>o</sup>: pp. [8]+159+[17]: signn. A<sup>4</sup>, B-M<sup>8</sup>.

Imprimatur, p. [2]: title, dedication, [3-8]: the work, 1-159: index, [2-17].

*B.M.* 599. c. 16. (*first two parts only*): *Bibliothèque Nationale, N. C.* 296.

Signn. A 5-6 of the first part, containing dedications to T. Skinner, are on different paper to the remainder of the volume. They are wanting in the *B.M.* copy.

16. *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*: . . . by Dr. George Bates, . . . *Motus Compositi*: . . . by Tho. Skinner, M.D. . . . Made English . . . London: Printed for Abel Swalle . . . 1685.

8<sup>o</sup>: pp. [26] + 170 + [6] + 256 + [4] + 107 + [5]: signn. [ ]<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>8</sup>, a<sup>4</sup>, B-M<sup>8</sup>, + A-Q<sup>8</sup>, R<sup>8</sup> + \*A-\*F<sup>8</sup>, \*G<sup>8</sup>, \*H<sup>8</sup> (Sheet \*G is mispaged).

Frontispiece, by I. Sturt, with date 1685, p. [2]: title, preface, table, and errata, [3-26]: the work, Part I, 1-170: index, [1-6]: the work, Part II, 1-251: tables, 252-6, [1-4]: the work, Part III, 1-107: table, [2-3]: advertisement, [4-5].

*B.M.* 291. e. 26.

#### EDITIONS OF THE DEFENSIO REGIA

1. *Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I* . . . *Sumptibus Regiis* [Elzevir, Leyden]: 1649.

fol.: pp. [2] + 338 + [2]: signn. [ ]<sup>1</sup>, A-Z<sup>4</sup>, Aa-Tt<sup>4</sup>, [ ]<sup>1</sup>.

Title, p. [1]: preface, 1-13: the work, 14-338: errata, [1].

Willems 657.

*Bodl. Byw. F.* 3. 1.

2. *Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I* . . . *Sumptibus Regiis* [Elzevir, Leyden]: 1649.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [2] + 720: signn. [ ]<sup>1</sup>, A-Z<sup>12</sup>, Aa-Gg<sup>12</sup>.

Title, p. [1]: preface, 1-25: the work, 26-720.

Willems 658.

*B.M. E.* 1386-7.

Received by Thomason on 'May 11'.

3. *Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I* . . . *Sumptibus Regiis* [Leyden]: 1649.

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. 444: signn. A-S<sup>12</sup>, T<sup>8</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. 1-18: the work, 19-444.

*B.M.* 600. a. 7.

Attributed to Leyden in the B.M. catalogue. The last line of p. 3 begins 'factum' (see Nos. 4 and 5).

4. *Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I . . . Sumptibus Regiis* : 1649.

12<sup>o</sup> : pp. 444 : signn. A-S<sup>12</sup>, T<sup>6</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. 1-18 : the work, 19-444.

*F. F. Madan.*

The last line of p. 3 begins 'immanes' (see Nos. 3 and 5).

5. *Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I . . . Sumptibus Regiis*  
[? Leyden] : 1649.

12<sup>o</sup> : pp. 444 : signn. A-S<sup>12</sup>, T<sup>6</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. 1-18 : the work, 19-444.

*B.M. 600. a. 30.*

Attributed, with a query, to Leyden in the B.M. catalogue. The last line of p. 3 begins 'tuos' (see Nos. 3 and 4).

6. *Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I . . . Sumptibus Regiis* : 1649.

12<sup>o</sup> : pp. 468 : signn. A-T<sup>12</sup>, V<sup>6</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. 1-17 : the work, 18-468.

*F. F. Madan.*

7. *Claudii Salmasii Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I . . . Et Joannis Miltoni Defensio, Pro Populo Anglicano, . . . Parisiis, Apud viduam Mathurini du Puis, . . .* : 1651.

4<sup>o</sup> : pp. [24]+292 ['282']+[10]+104+[6] : signn. a<sup>4</sup>, a<sup>4</sup>, e<sup>4</sup>, A-Z<sup>4</sup>, Aa-Pp<sup>4</sup>, A-P<sup>4</sup>.

Title and index, pp. [1-8] : followed by title :

*Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I . . . Authore Ch. Salmasio. Parisiis, Apud Franciscum Noel, . . .* : 1650. Title and preface, pp. [1-16] : the work, 1-292 ['282'] : followed by title :

*Joannis Miltoni Angli Defensio Pro Populo Anglicano : . . . Londini, Typis Du Gardianis [but ? Gouda] : 1651.* Title and preface, pp. [1-10] : the work, 1-104 : index, [1-6] :

Grolier 581.

*Bodl. Byw. S. 5. 9 : U.L.C. R. 4. 16.*

For further account of the second work, which was not printed by Dugard, and is also found separately, see list of editions of the *Defensio Pro Populo Anglicano*, No. 3, *ante*.

8. *Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I, . . . Sumptibus Regiis [Leyden]: 1650.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [20]+472: signn. \*<sup>10</sup>, A-T<sup>12</sup>, V<sup>8</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. [1-20]: the work, 1-472.

B.M. 600. a. 8.

Attributed to Leyden in the B.M. catalogue.

9. *Defensio Regia. Dat is: Koninglyke Verdedinge. Voor Carel de Eerste . . . t' Antwerpen, Op's Konings kosten. A<sup>o</sup> MDCL.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [28]+304: signn. \*<sup>12</sup>, \*\*<sup>2</sup>, A-M<sup>12</sup>, N<sup>8</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. [1-28]: the work, 1-304.

University Library, Amsterdam, 753. D. 7.

10. *Apologie Royale Pour Charles I. . . Par Messire Claude De Saumaise, . . . Paris, la veuve Mathurin Dupuis: 1650.*

4<sup>o</sup>: pp. [4]+840+[2]: signn. [ ]<sup>2</sup>, A-Z<sup>4</sup>, Aa-Zz<sup>4</sup>, AAa-ZZz<sup>4</sup>, AAaa-NNNnn<sup>4</sup>.

Title, index, and licence, pp. [1-4]: preface, 1-29: the work, 30-840: one leaf not seen, ? blank, [1-2].

B.M. 8005. g. 32.

11. *Defensio Regia, Pro Carolo I, . . . Rothomagi, Io Berthelin, Io. Viret, Io. de Bosc, Iac. Besonque: 1650.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. [24]+681+[3]: signn. \*<sup>12</sup>, A-Z<sup>12</sup>, Aa-Ee<sup>12</sup>, Ff<sup>6</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. [1-24]: the work, 1-499.

B.M. 8122. aa. 11.

12. *Defensio Regia. Pro Carolo I. . . Sumptibus Regiis: 1652.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. 444: signn. A-S<sup>12</sup>, T<sup>8</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. 1-18: the work, 19-444.

Bodl. 22855. f. 6.

13. *Cl. Salmasii Defensio Regia Pro Carolo I. . . Editio nova ab Auctore aucta & recognita . . . Sumptibus Regiis [Elzevir, Amsterdam]: 1652.*

12<sup>o</sup>: pp. 499+[5]: signn. A-X<sup>12</sup>.

Title and preface, pp. 1-19: the work, 20-499.

Willems 1154.

B.M. 600 a. 9. (x) (wanting two blank leaves at the end).

# THE IMPORTATION OF BOOKS INTO ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

## AN EXAMINATION OF SOME CUSTOMS ROLLS

By H. R. PLOMER

BEING curious to know what light the early Customs Rolls at the Public Record Office could throw upon the importation of books into England, I some time ago examined a number of them.

I did not expect to find the titles of the books set out; but I thought it would be something gained to know when they began to be imported in any considerable numbers, who were the chief importers, and what quantities each of them imported. The result was better than I expected, and the search at the outset proved extremely interesting.

The earliest roll of any importance was that of William Weston, supervisor of the Petty Custom of the Port of London, which covered from Michaelmas 20 Edw. IV to the Michaelmas following,<sup>1</sup> i.e. from Michaelmas 14 $\frac{79}{80}$  to Michaelmas 148 $\frac{0}{1}$ .

It is a roll of twenty-seven long membranes closely written on both sides and in excellent preservation. The entries are arranged under the names of the masters of the vessels and the date of their arrival, and the nature and value of the cargo are set out in detail.

I need hardly remind my readers that the ships of the fifteenth century were not much bigger than a fishing trawler of the present day, the largest, known as galleons, being not

<sup>1</sup> P. R. O. E. 122, 194/24.



more than a couple of hundred tons burden. Yet these frail vessels made periodical trips across the North Sea and the Bay of Biscay. Amongst those named in this roll were the *Katherine* of London, the *Trinity* of Antwerp, and a galleon owned by one Bernardi Bondemer. This last was evidently one of the largest vessels that came up the Thames, as the list of her cargo fills nearly the whole of one membrane. She hailed probably from the Mediterranean, as her cargo consisted for the most part of oils and spices; there was only one small consignment of books amongst it, to an alien called John Barde.

The chief importers of books into England in 1479-80 were Peter Actors and Henry Frankenburg, both familiar to students of the early English book-trade; Actors imported during this year at least seven hundred volumes, and Frankenburg about five hundred.

Amongst other importers were Bernard van Utrick, who received one 'fatte' with seventeen volumes 'historiarum', valued at £2 6s. 8d., and Peter Walkyn, whose consignment included five printed books and twenty-four quires 'de papiro depict'. John van Acon, 'alien', imported ninety-three volumes of divers histories, and finally Andrew Rue, the bookseller of St. Paul's Churchyard, brought in two chests of books containing one hundred and seventy-seven volumes priced at £13 10s.

The next roll is that of Simon Digby, Controller of Petty Custom in the port of London in the sixth to seventh year of Henry VII [i.e. 1490],<sup>1</sup> and all the books mentioned in it are described as 'printed books'.

John Rue, brother of Andrew Rue, imported by one ship a little basket of printed books, by another a chest with one hundred and thirty printed books valued at £10, and by a third one hogshead containing thirty-three volumes. John

<sup>1</sup> P. R. O. E. 122, 78/9.

Boeidents of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, imported one basket with printed books, valued at £3. Peter Actors had only one consignment, of the small value of £5. Amongst the remaining importers named in this account were Nicolas Beveland, Frank Mathew, and Elizabeth von Acon, none of whom are to be found in Mr. Duff's *Century*. They were possibly merchants who bought books on commission for their customers.

The next roll brings us to the years 1494 and 1495.<sup>1</sup> Some of the consignees in this are described by the word 'indegena', i.e. they were natives. Their names were Henry Somer, Thomas Coke, Bartholomew Monger, William Michell, William Danyell, and William Hethe. Here again we are probably dealing with merchants and not with booksellers. One of Henry Somer's consignments consisted of 'one chest' and three "Fattes" containing 2 gross of laces, 11 gross 'small knives, 30 dozen pins, 12 latten Crucifixes, 6 dozen 'bottles, 3 thousand alblades [? crossbows], 12 dozen prynted 'prymers, and 400 prynted bokes', the whole being valued at £35.

Among the aliens named in this roll is one Johanne Rey, which I suspect to be a contraction for John Reynes; if so, it is at least fifteen years earlier than any previous mention of him. His consignment consisted of two hundred printed prymers.

With the account of William Tressy and William Holybsand, collectors of the Petty Custom for the port of London in the 18-19 Hen. VII [i.e. 1502-3],<sup>2</sup> our interest is quickened. The first name on the roll of those importing books is that of Henry Cony, alien, whom we know to have been a book-binder in London in 1500. This entry proves him to have been also a dealer in books, as on 19 October 1502 he imported a basketful of printed books valued at 40s., upon which he paid sixpence as duty; again on 14 March 1503 his consignment

<sup>1</sup> P. R. O. E. 122, 79/5.

<sup>2</sup> P. R. O. E. 122, 80/2.

consisted of one barrel containing four hundred primers. But some much more important men in the book-trade begin to make their appearance on this roll. Frederick van Egmond on 7 January 1503 received one basket of printed books which had come over in the ship of one Weger Johnson. On the 14th of the following March another ship brought him two baskets of printed books, while a third arriving on 3 April brought him one 'maund', another term for a basket. By 16 May Weger Johnson's ship had made another trip and brought Egmont books to the value of £5, and he received further consignments in July and August. Altogether he imported £20 worth of books during the year, upon which he paid custom of five shillings. Wynkyn de Worde imported ten pounds' worth of printed books by a vessel arriving on 14 March 1503. William Faques received two cases of books and forty reams of paper at the same time, the value of which was £8 13s. 4d. Francis Birckman on 26 July 1503 received two consignments of printed books valued at £3 each. Two other names in this roll are well worth noting. The first is that of John Benase, 'alien', who on 25 September 1503 imported one pipe of printed books. This, there is little doubt, was Jean Bienayse, whom Mr. Duff tells us was at a later date associated with the York stationer, John Gachet, in the production of English service books.<sup>1</sup> The second is that of Michel Morin, to whom was consigned two pipes and three coffers of printed books, which arrived on 26 August in that same year. Further, it may well be that 'Johne Anthōe alien', who received on 15 December 1502 three 'fattes' and a chest of printed books of the value of twenty pounds, as recorded on this roll, was the Jean Antoine mentioned by Mr. Duff in his Sandars Lecture (No. 7) on the 'Stationers of London and the Foreign Trade'.

Other alien book importers mentioned in this account were

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl. Soc. Trans.*, vol. v, Pt. I, p. 95.

Stephen Dawght, who in addition to miscellaneous merchandise received two hundred primers; Lodowic Delvesse, whose consignment was five dozen prymers; Hans Kovelyns, Jacob Hanset, Cornelius Johnson, Hans Cornelius, John Hoyton; Lodowic Harbard, four gross of prymers; Nich. Lopus, five hundred prymers; James Chapman, eight dozen prymers; Goverte Bakke; John de Baro; Adrian Cornelison, whose consignment included four reams of printed papers; Giles Lownett; Julian Nutt and George Mitellus.

The next roll is a comparatively small one, covering only nine months, from 18 January, 20 Hen. VII [1504], to Michaelmas 1505. During that time nine ships were cleared, and the chief consignees of books were Wynkyn de Worde, Joyce Pylgrym, Michael Morin, and Francis Birckman, while on 2 September 1505 Nicholas Speryng, alien, the bookseller who settled at Cambridge and became a bookbinder, imported £10 worth of printed books.

The accounts covering from Michaelmas 1506 to Michaelmas 1508 reveal few names but those of Francis Birckman and Wynkyn de Worde, and their consignments were large and frequent, and included boards for binding, clasps, and ink. A William Violet and a Nicholas Gerard both imported primers, the first in December 1506 and the second in April 1507, and Johne Questinbrough 'hans' appears in 1507 as receiving two 'maundes' of books.

At this point I stopped. The repetition of the same names was becoming monotonous. But if any one else is seized with a like curiosity, he might carry the examination on for another fifty years.

## THE SURREPTITIOUS EDITION OF MICHAEL DRAYTON'S *PEIRS GAUESTON*

By J. WILLIAM HEBEL

IN the British Museum there is a copy of the supposed surreptitious edition of Michael Drayton's *Peirs Gaueston*,<sup>1</sup> 1595 [?], which offers several interesting problems. Drayton had first published *Peirs Gaueston* in 1593 with Nicholas Ling and John Busby. It was his first experiment in the historical legend and evidently quickly attained some popularity, for in the following year he published his *Matilda*, a poem in the same manner, again with Nicholas Ling and John Busby, and in this, in his address 'To the Honourable Gentlemen of Englande, true fauorers of Poesie', he speaks of the 'kind and fauourable acceptance of my late discourse of the life and death of *Peirs Gaueston*'. It was probably in the next year, 1595, that some publisher brought out the surreptitious edition of *Peirs Gaueston*. Unfortunately the only known copy, that in the British Museum, lacks all prefatory matter, so that it is impossible to state definitely either the date or the publisher's name.<sup>2</sup>

In 1596 Drayton wrote a new legend, *Robert, Duke of Normandy*, which he published with *Gaueston* and *Matilda* in one volume. This volume was issued by Nicholas Ling

<sup>1</sup> The name is so spelled in the title-page of the edition of 1593, and in the running-titles of the edition of 1595. In 1596 Drayton changed to the spelling 'Piers'.

<sup>2</sup> It begins with the text at sig. B. Collation: B-E<sup>6</sup>, F<sup>4</sup>, G<sup>1</sup>. E<sup>2</sup> verso is signed E<sup>3</sup>. This is the copy which was earlier at Rowfant.

alone. In the address 'To the Reader' Drayton refers to the surreptitious edition of *Gaueston*:

Gentlemen, since my first publishing of these tragicall complaints of *Piers Gaueston* and *Matilda*, it is not vnknowne to any which traffique with Poetry, how by the sinister dealing of some vnskillfull Printer, *Piers Gaueston* hath been lately put forth contrary to my will, with as manie faults as there be lynes in the same, beeing in deede at the first no perfect Coppy, but left vnformed and vndigested, like a Beare whelp before it is lickt by the Dam. But now of late vnderstanding by the Stationers, that they meant the thyrd time to bring it to the Presse, for which purpose as it seemd, they kept *Matilda* from printing, onely because they meant to ioine them together in one little volume, I haue taken some paine in them both to augment and polish them, sith I see they must goe to the publike view of the world.

Even a cursory glance at the edition of 1595 shows the justification for Drayton's anger with the 'vnskillfull Printer', who has indeed committed about 'as manie faults as there be lynes'. The first line, 'From bloomy shaddowe of etarnall night', gives an amusing instance of the printer's carelessness. It should read, of course, 'gloomy shaddowe' as do the other editions of the poem. But a complete collation of the text of this edition with those of 1593<sup>1</sup> and 1596<sup>2</sup> shows that the printer must have had a manuscript which Drayton was in process of revising for a new edition. In practically every instance where the text of 1595 differs from 1593, the new reading is the one which Drayton used in the authorized edition of 1596. There are at least ninety-one new readings in 1595 which are continued in 1596, and only three or four new readings in 1595, apart from errors due to the printer's carelessness, not adopted in 1596. Some of the textual changes involve only single words, such as the substitution of 'which'

<sup>1</sup> *Peirs Gaueston* . . . At London, Printed by I. R. for N. L. and John Busby; the Heber-Britwell-Huntington copy.

<sup>2</sup> *The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy* . . . With the Legend of *Matilda* . . . And the Legend of *Piers Gaueston* . . . At London, Printed by Ia. Roberts for N. L. . . . 1596; the Huth-Widener-Harvard copy.

for 'that', a change which Drayton was very fond of making when he revised his texts. Others involve the rewriting of a line; and in three different places a stanza of 1593 is omitted.

Before republishing the poem in 1596 Drayton evidently further revised his manuscript, for this edition has at least sixty-seven new readings. The majority of these are again changes involving one or two words, and the rest are added stanzas, twenty-six in all. They are not very happy additions, for they add nothing to the story and only give more of the rhetorical and euphuistic embroidery of which there was already enough. This stanza, in which Gaveston speaks of his 'euill Genius', is an example of Drayton's worst manner in 1596:

O foule fore-teller of my fouler fall,  
Still following fury, neuer pyttyng fiend,  
Of my destruction onely principall,  
Curse of our birth, and Curser of our end:  
Our frailties scourge, our vices purgatory,  
Thou fatall worker of our fatall storie.

Further, Drayton omits in 1596 the four concluding stanzas of 1593, which had been continued in 1595. These are the stanzas which contain references to his Idea, Anne Goodere; to his friend Dorus, a fellow poet whom I am not yet able to identify; and to his patron Maecenas, most probably Henry Cavendish, Esq., to whom the poem is dedicated, and who in the dedication is called '*a kinde Maecenas*'.

It is evident from this collation that the manuscript used by the printer in 1595 represents a later state of the text than the manuscript used in 1593, and that, with the exception of the added stanzas, the majority of the changes incorporated in the edition of 1596 were already made. Such a manuscript Drayton might very probably have left with his publishers, Nicholas Ling and John Busby, when he was called



out of London in January 1595 by the illness of his first patron, Sir Henry Goodere, the elder, who had brought Drayton up as a page in his house at Polesworth. On 26 January Drayton was one of the witnesses to the will of Sir Henry. Sir Henry's final illness lasted for several months (his will was not proved until 6 May), and it is very probable that Drayton, because of his friendship for the family and his affection for the daughter, Anne, spent some time at Polesworth. Certainly, at least, he would be at Polesworth for the funeral of Sir Henry.<sup>1</sup>

Possibly the first edition of *Peirs Gaueston* was exhausted at some time during Drayton's absence in the country, and its popularity making a new edition profitable his publishers hurriedly issued one from his partially revised manuscript. Since Drayton was not there to read the proof, the edition was very carelessly printed, and on his return to London he was naturally angered. That the edition was issued by Ling and Busby seems the more probable since there is no record of their entering complaint against any other publisher for infringing on their rights in *Peirs Gaueston*. This conjecture is also at least partially borne out by the address 'To the Reader' of the edition of 1596, quoted above, where Drayton speaks of 'the Stationers', meaning most probably from his phraseology the same ones, bringing *Peirs Gaueston* to the press for the third time.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe* was entered in the Stationers' Registers by John Busby on 12 April 1595, which might argue for his presence in London about that time.

<sup>2</sup> There is just a little evidence, and that by no means convincing, which makes it seem possible that Busby may have issued, or at least been responsible for, the edition alone. He had been associated with Ling in the *Peirs Gaueston* of 1593, and the *Matilda* of 1594, and had published *Endimion and Phoebe*, 1595; but Ling alone published the edition of the legends in 1596 and continued the publication of Drayton's work. If Busby was responsible for the carelessly printed edition of 1595, it is possible that Drayton's irritation at



The edition of 1595, then, published as this evidence seems to show by Ling and Busby, can only be called 'surreptitious' in that Drayton knew nothing of it before it was published and that he evidently was not present to read the proof.

The edition of 1596 did not end Drayton's revision of the text of this poem, for he entirely rewrote it for the first collected edition of his poetry in 1605, published again by Nicholas Ling. In this form he continued the poem in his collected editions, until his definitive edition in 1619, when he again rewrote it. This gives us five forms of the poem: 1593, 1,740 lines; 1595, 1,722 lines; 1596, 1,854 lines; 1605, 702 lines; and 1619 with the same number of lines as 1605 but the lines greatly rewritten. This is certainly a tremendous amount of revision for a poem which in none of its forms has much poetic merit.

this edition is the reason that Busby no longer had a share in the publication of Drayton's poems, though he was still associated with Ling in other publications, e.g. Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*. V. Sims for John Busby and N. Ling. 1596.

## REVIEWS

### STATISTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

THESE are two out of four lectures given by Mr. Hulme (as Sandars Reader in Bibliography) before the University of Cambridge last year; they introduce a kind of volumetric bibliography which is new, and at first sight a little puzzling.

Mr. Hulme was for some years Librarian of the Patent Office, and is now the editor of the Library Association's invaluable *Subject Index to Periodicals*; his interests accordingly lie in classification, both of books and subjects (they are not the same thing). He thinks that by means of an accurate classification, accompanied by a careful count or estimate of production under various heads, it is possible to draw some important conclusions as to the progress of civilization in modern times. Possibly this may some day be developed on mathematical lines—a curve or two would have helped in this little volume; but meanwhile two surveys are of especial interest. The first gives a table of the divisions of literature in (1) architecture and the allied arts, (2) textile industries, with a date-entry of the first separate monograph in each, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; the social and industrial historian could learn something from this, as the subjects are carefully and minutely subdivided.

The second—a survey of the output of scientific journals since 1900, arranged both by country of origin and by date—would appear to show that the Great War was not, as is ordinarily supposed, the turning-point when civilization fell back, and whence it will take so long to recover. It rather

<sup>1</sup> *Statistical bibliography in relation to the growth of modern civilization.* By E. Wyndham Hulme. Grafton & Co., 1923; 44 pp., tables.

seems that civilization—at any rate so far as the pursuit of science is concerned—was at its zenith in 1910, and that a slow decline was beginning from that date, which was of course immeasurably quickened by the war. This, if true, gives rise to some interesting speculations. Perhaps we had acquired as much knowledge as we could carry; so that, even if there had been no political disturbance, we should have had to reconcile ourselves to a gentle progress downhill. Did not economic conditions (e.g. 'real wages') take a slight turn to the worse about the same time or a little earlier? Perhaps we are too near the date for exact determination; but it is a suggestion—apparently resting on sound evidence—of the greatest interest, and our thanks are due to Mr. Hulme for putting it forward.

CATALOGUE OF SHELLEY BOOKS<sup>1</sup>

THE primary intention of the Grolier Club in preparing this volume was that it should serve as a record of the loan collection of Shelley books and documents exhibited in connexion with last year's centenary. But a liberal decision on the part of the Committee expanded its scope so as to include not only descriptions of every known edition of Shelley's writings published during his lifetime, together with succinct notes of the circumstances under which each of his books came to be composed and extracts bearing upon them from his correspondence, but also a complete series of reproductions of the early title-pages, numbering as many as thirty. Both the Club and its Librarian are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work, which forms a compendious and

<sup>1</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of the first editions in book form of the writings of Percy Bysshe Shelley, based on a memorial exhibition held at the Grolier Club . . . 1922.* By Ruth S. Granniss, Librarian of the Grolier Club. New York, 1923. Pp. xx, 133.

reliable guide through Shelley's literary career and is, moreover, extremely well got up and pleasant in the handling. Of the many fugitive pieces which Shelley caused to be separately printed only four at most, all dating from his Oxford period, seem quite undiscoverable to-day; a fifth, the *Address to the People on the Death of the Princess Charlotte*, published in 1817, is known only from a reprint of about 1843, and two others, the ballad entitled *The Devil's Walk* and a *Letter to Lord Ellenborough*, both of 1812, survive in only one copy apiece, both being in English ownership. The extreme rarity of many of the others is common knowledge, yet all are represented in America—a fact which certainly 'evinces the wide and growing interest in Shelley among American collectors', to use the words of the introduction. The exhibition of the Grolier Club included specimens of all but four items. Among the copies shown were Shelley's own *Queen Mab*, with his notes for revision, the copy of *Adonais* which he presented to Keats's friend Severn at Rome, and a number of similar treasures. Many of the letters and manuscripts exhibited were also of importance, and an illustration of one of them, the original note-book in which was written *A Philosophical View of Reform*, forms the frontispiece of the Catalogue.

V. S.

TYPE FACES<sup>1</sup>

THIS handsome publication, produced in the Medici Society's best style, illustrates a selection of roman and italic types suitable for standard book-printing, Mr. Stanley Morison, like Mr. Updike, being one of those who deserve well of all readers by his zeal for the improvement of everyday

<sup>1</sup> *On Type Faces. Examples of the use of type for the printing of books: with an introductory essay and notes by Stanley Morison. Medici Society and The Fleuron, 1923. 12 x 9½ in.*

typography. The types shown include some of the old indispensables like the Fell and Baskerville founts, but most of them are modern adaptations of earlier models, which Mr. Morison has been at much pains to collect from a variety of sources at home and abroad. They number altogether twenty-six, of which six belong to the 'Venetian school' and thirteen to the 'Old-Face school', the remainder being titling letters in various styles. Each type is introduced by a short note and is usually shown in a considerable range of sizes. Though not all equally successful, they are most interesting and pleasing to study and compare, as well as forming an invaluable first aid to all practical printers desirous of being able to tell good from bad. As usual, the specimens emphasize the curiously narrow limits of modification within which roman founts must apparently be confined in order to give real satisfaction, while the fact that the same face sometimes varies rather disconcertingly in appearance according to its size may be held to raise something of a problem. This is especially noticeable in the case of the so-called 'Inkunabula' type, an exact copy of Ratdolt's fine first roman, which for some reason does not show up well when set out in four sizes different from that used by Ratdolt himself. In this connexion there is perhaps still something to be learnt from Jenson's famous roman, which perfectly contents the eye alike in a small quarto and in a large folio—and which, by the way, bears scarcely the most distant resemblance to the 'Monotype Venetian' fount claimed as a variety of it on p. 7 of the present book. The illustrations of italic types are numerous and instructive; one of the most modern examples, Mr. Goudy's 'Kennerley', which develops the Aldine italic in an original way, is a particularly good piece of work.

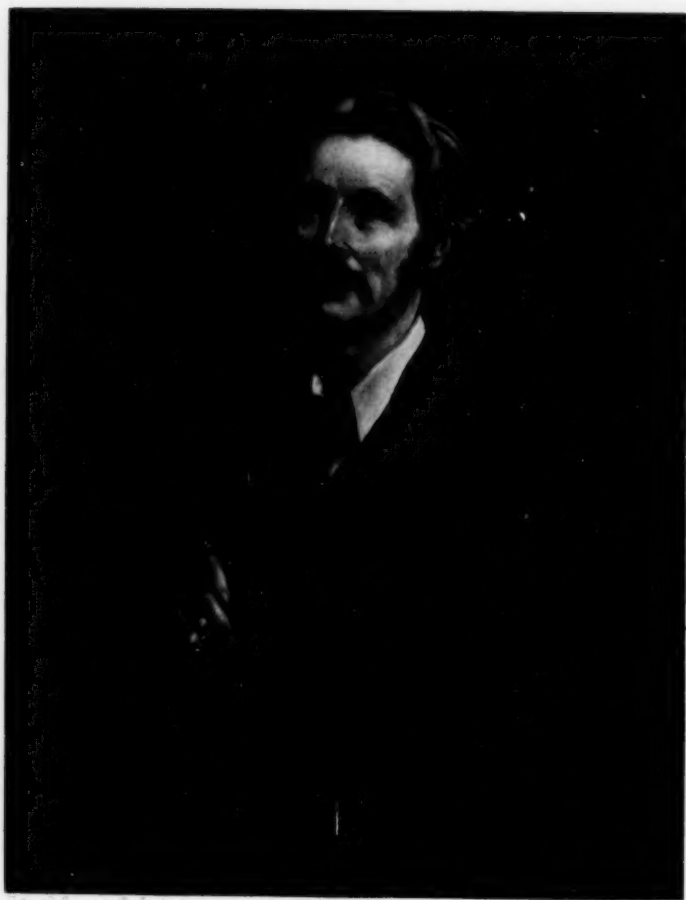
V. S.

### HEYWOOD'S *PLAY OF LOVE*—A CORRECTION

IN my paper on *The Editor of the English Works of Sir Thomas More* I supported an argument bearing upon the dates of the earliest editions of the *Play of Love* by a reference to an article of Dr. W. W. Greg's published in 1901. In this reference I was guilty of two blunders. First, the article in question appeared, not in *Anglia*, as I stated, but in Herrig's *Archiv*; and secondly, Dr. Greg deals there not with editions of 1533 and 1534, but with the copy (1534) he discovered in the Pepys library, and the undated and imperfect copy in the Bodleian then recently printed by Brandl. My argument may or may not still be found to hold good in spite of my mishandling of Dr. Greg's article, but I am much troubled by the fact that I have misrepresented by inaccuracy a scholar whose own accuracy is so well known to bibliographers.

A. W. REED.





*Francis Jenkinson*  
*Librarian of Cambridge University*



